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ABSTRACT

Four papers on linguistic theory and language research include: "Language Policy, Language Education, and Language Rights: Indigenous, Immigrant, and International Perspectives" (Nancy H. Hornberger), a discussion of how language policy and language education serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality, versatility, and stability of indigenous languages; "Talk to Me! The Development of Request Strategies in Non-Native Speakers of English" (Caryn L. Francis), a study of development of pragmatic competence across nine levels of English proficiency; "English Article Deletion in Korean EFL Learners' Compositions" (Hikyoung Lee), an analysis of the linguistic and social factors influencing deletion of the definite and indefinite article in the written compositions of Korean learners of English; and "Effects of Instructional Strategies on Second Language Acquisition Process" (Victoria Jo), a discussion of instructional strategies based on three dimensions (experiential-analytic, implicit-explicit, intralingual-crosslingual) in code-focused second language instruction. (MSE)

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

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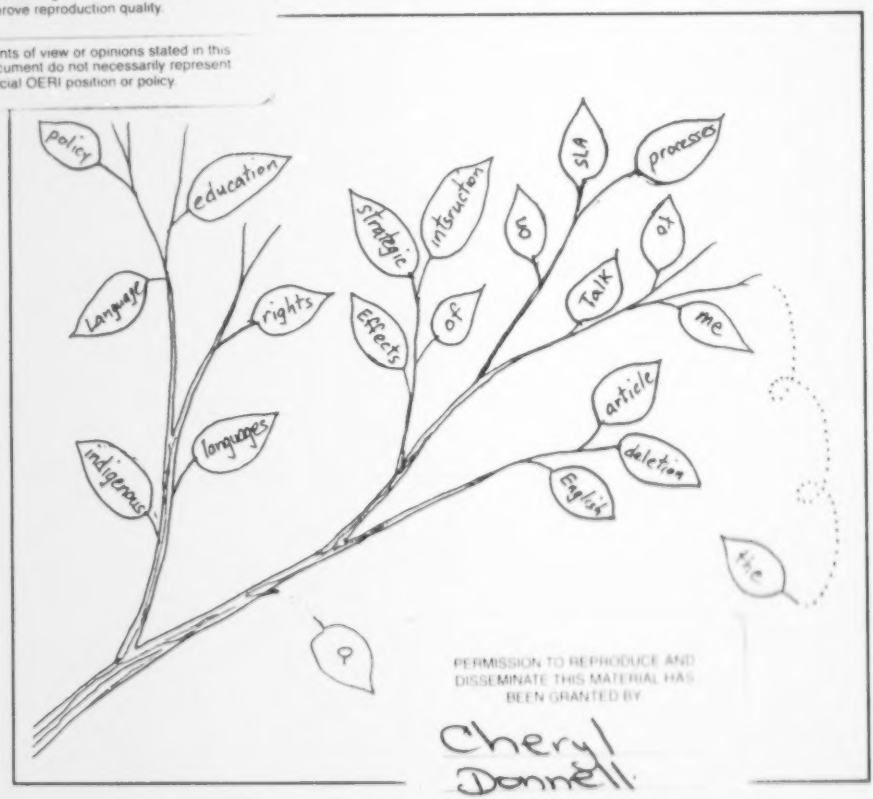

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

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WORKING PAPERS IN EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

Volume 13, Number 2 **Fall, 1997**

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Dear WPEL readers,

We are proud to bring you the latest issue of the University of Pennsylvania's *Working Papers in Education Linguistics*. The work contained in this collection represents the diverse interests and research projects of the students and faculty associated with the Language in Education Division.

Our mission is to share the current and on-going work of our students and faculty with our worldwide readership. We also aim to work with our contributors to make their "working papers" into scholarly articles ready for publication in the top journals in our field.

In this issue:

Nancy Hornberger discusses how, despite concern over the possible disappearance of indigenous languages, language policy and education can have a positive impact on the promotion of linguistic diversity and the rights of speakers of indigenous languages.

Caryn Francis uses speech act analysis to examine the request strategies of non-native speakers of English across varying levels of proficiency to suggest a pattern of pragmatic development.

Hik-Young Lee's quantitative analysis of article deletion by Korean EFL learners examines the linguistic and social factors that may influence article deletion in the writing of these learners.

Victoria Jo reviews Harley's guidelines for determing which grammatical structures to teach and considers the *in-that-clause* as an illustrative structure.

In addition to our advisor, Rebecca Freeman, we gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: the authors, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, Penny Creedon, Suzanne Oh, and Ricardo Díaz.

We hope that you find the following selected contributions as engaging and worthy of scholarly interest as we have.

The editors

Language Policy, Language Education, and Language Rights: Indigenous, Immigrant, and International Perspectives[1]

Nancy H. Hornberger

University of Pennsylvania
Plenary talk presented at the Annual Conference of the American Association for Applied Linguistics
Orlando, Florida
8 March 1997

Abstract

Indigenous languages are under siege, not only in the United States but around the world, in danger of disappearing because they are not being transmitted to the next generation. Immigrants and their languages worldwide are similarly subjected to seemingly irresistible social, political, and economic pressures. Yet, at a time when phrases like "endangered languages" and "linguicism" are invoked to describe the plight of the world's vanishing linguistic resources in their encounter with the phenomenal growth of world languages such as English, there is also consistent and compelling evidence that language policy and language education serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality, versatility and stability of these languages, and ultimately of the rights of their speakers to participate in the global community on, and *in*, their own terms.

Language Policy, Language Education, and Language Rights:Indigenous, Immigrant, and International Perspectives

Just over a month ago, I had the privilege of observing and participating for two weeks in an indigenous teacher education course in the Amazonian rainforest of Brazil. This course, sponsored by the Comissão Pró-Indio do Acre (CPI), and held every summer (i.e. January-March) since 1983, was attended this year by some 25 *professores indios*

[1]A slightly revised version of this paper, but with the same title, has been accepted for publication in *Language in Society*, 27 (4), December 1998.

(indigenous teachers), representing 8 different ethnic groups whose languages are in varying stages of vitality, from those with about 150 speakers to those with several thousand.[2]

One of the striking features of the course is that the *professores indios* are simultaneously learners and teachers-in-formation; that is, they are simultaneously learning the school curriculum themselves for the first time, while also preparing themselves to return to their *aldeias*, or communities, to teach it. Another feature of the course is the emphasis on reflexive practice, epitomized in the keeping of class diaries during the school year, a practice which some of the *professores indios* have employed since 1983.[3] A third striking feature is the clear language-as-resource orientation, used here in Ruiz' sense.[4] The language-as-resource orientation in the CPI course means that the indigenous languages are not only encouraged and used as medium and subject of instruction in both the course and the schools, but that the *professores indios* encourage and exchange among each other across their different languages. One activity of the course in which all three of these features converge is the *professores indios'* authorship of teaching materials in the indigenous languages which are reflective of indigenous culture, history, and artistic expression; these materials serve as documentation of the *professores'* own learning as well as serving as a teaching resource for their work in their own classrooms.

The curriculum covered during the two weeks I observed was Mathematics, Portuguese Language and a new curricular area, Introduction to Research, being taught for the first time. In the latter area, one group of *professores* was learning to write proposals to gain funding for research and/or for community development. The most popular topic for proposals proved to be projects of linguistic or cultural revitalization, and among those who developed a proposal along those lines was Antonio Arara, a Shawandawa. In the introductory part of his proposal, Antonio describes the rapid diminution of his language, noting that as a result of many years of contact and conflict with white people, the Shawandawa now number only 196,[5] with only 6 native speakers of the language, all over the age of

[2]The ethnic groups represented in the course I observed are, in order of total estimated # of speakers from greatest to smallest:
Asheninca or Kampa - of which there are only 560 in Brasil, but 55000 in Peru
Kaxinawá - with 2700 in Brazil and another 1200 in Peru
Apurinã - 2800
Jaminawá - 370 in Brazil and 600 in Peru.
Katukina - 650
Arara or Shawandawa - 300
Yawanawá - 230
Manchineri - 152
(CEDI/Instituto Socioambiental 1994)

[3]See Nietta Monte (1996) for a description and analysis of the diaries.

[4]Here and throughout this paper, I and the authors I cite follow Ruiz (1984) in referring to language-as-resource, language-as-right, and language-as-problem orientations.

[5]His number differs somewhat from the figures in CEDI/Instituto Socioambiental 1994, which lists 300 Shawandawa, all of them in Acre.

60. He goes on to recount that beginning in 1990 he has been involved with Comissão Pró-Indio (CPI) staff in linguistic research and that in 1996 they produced the first primer in Shawandawa, which although still incomplete is already yielding good results with the schoolchildren. His proposal is to do more tape-recording, writing and publishing in Shawandawa, so that the next generation can be taught the language. In introducing this strategy in the face of the dismal picture of language loss with which he opens his proposal, Antonio asserts optimistically: "Temos uma saída!" 'There is a way out!' (1/23/97)

LANGUAGE POLICY, INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES, AND VITALITY

Shawandawa, also called Arara, is one of many indigenous languages around the world in danger of disappearing because they are not being transmitted to the next generation. The plight of endangered languages is considered by many to be a crisis. In an oft-cited article published in 1992 in *Language*, Michael Krauss estimated that as few as 600 of the estimated 6000 languages on earth will remain secure through the next century (1992:7). While we lack an accurate assessment of the situation of endangered languages in most areas of the world (Grenoble and Whaley 1996:210), we have approximate figures for enough cases to make the point quite convincingly. For example, of the 175 indigenous languages still extant in the United States, only 20 are being transmitted as child languages (Krauss 1996, as cited by McCarty 1996:1). In the state of California, which bears the dubious distinction of having the most endangered languages of any part of North America, of 100 Indian languages spoken at the time the Europeans arrived, there are today only 50 still spoken, most only by elders; and virtually 100% of California's indigenous languages are no longer learned by children (Hinton 1994).

Nor is this only an "American problem"; indigenous languages around the world are undergoing similar pressure. To name just a few examples: a recent paper by Brenzinger identified 16 languages in Ethiopia confronting the imminent possibility of extinction (Grenoble and Whaley 1996:211; see also Brenzinger 1992); and a report prepared in 1995 for the European Commission by Peter Nelde, Miquell Strubell, and Glyn Williams, and entitled *Euromosaic*, considers the current situation of 48 minority language groups in the European Union, and in particular "their potential for production and reproduction, and the difficulties which they encounter in doing so." The report looks at the "implications of the more general process of political and economic restructuring within the EU for minority language groups," and argues that given "the shift in thinking about the value of diversity for economic development and European integration, attention must be given to sustaining the existing pool of diversity within the EU" (Nelde et al. 1996: Executive Summary).

Over the last decade, endangered languages have received increasing

scholarly attention, in publications (e.g. Hale et al. 1992) and conferences, as for example a February 1995 conference held at Dartmouth and reported in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* by Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley (1996); and an October 1996 conference on Endangered Languages, Endangered Knowledge, Endangered Environments, held in Berkeley, California, also saw the founding of a non-profit non-governmental international organization, Terralingua, devoted to preserving the world's linguistic diversity, and to investigating parallels and links between biological and cultural diversity.

Parallels are drawn between endangered languages and endangered species; in each case, the endangered ones, as journalist James Crawford writes, "fall victim to predators, changing environments, or more successful competitors," are encroached on by "modern cultures abetted by new technologies," and are threatened by "destruction of lands and livelihoods; the spread of consumerism, individualism, and other Western values; pressures for assimilation into dominant cultures; and conscious policies of repression" (Crawford 1994:5). Yet, as Grenoble and Whaley assert, despite a recognition of some "commonality to the general circumstances that bring about language endangerment, ... [it is] regionally specific, or even community-specific, factors [that] dictate the ultimate effect of these circumstances" (Grenoble and Whaley 1996:211). Among the latter, they suggest, is the factor of how a particular language community may react when confronted with imminent language loss; specifically, whether or not the community can or will mobilize resources to counteract the loss.

Joshua Fishman calls such activities Reversing Language Shift or RLS, and argues that RLS cannot be successful without intergenerational language transmission; "nothing," he says, "can substitute for the rebuilding of society at the level of ... everyday, informal life" (1991:112). In a collection of essays I recently edited, paired or co-authored contributions by scholars, and members or native speakers of various indigenous language communities in North, Meso- and South America describe efforts to maintain and revitalize their languages through the use and development of various literacies. In the volume's concluding essay, I suggest that the striking characteristic of the efforts described is their bottom up nature: from the curriculum development work with the Yup'ik of Alaska described by Jerry Lipka, Esther Ilutsik, and Nastasia Wahlberg, to the book publication project of Oaxaca, Mexico described by Russ Bernard, Jesús Salinas, and Josefa Gonzalez, to the Guarani literacy campaign in Bolivia described by Luis Enrique López, and many more, it is "the involvement and initiative of the indigenous communities themselves that ... provide the impetus and sustenance for language planning efforts" (Hornberger 1996:357).

Antonia Arara's rallying statement above, "Temos uma saída," is another example of that kind of bottom up response - and is indicative of the incredible initiative, energy, and enthusiasm indigenous people may put into revitalization efforts when they feel their language or culture are threat-

ened, efforts most often based around literacy and education.

His statement is also, indirectly, evidence of the role that national language and education policy can have in encouraging or dampening such enthusiasm. In the Brazilian case, the Constitution of 1988 marks a significant turning point in policy for the indigenous populations. Brazil's 1988 Constitution recognizes, for the first time, the Indians' social organization, customs, languages, beliefs, and traditions, and their native rights to the lands that they have traditionally occupied (Brasil, *Constituição*, 1996, Chapter VIII, Article 231); the Constitution also ensures that education in the indigenous communities will make use of their own native languages and learning processes (Brasil, *Constituição*, 1996, Chapter III, Article 210). In 1993, the Brazilian Ministry of Education appointed a Committee on Indigenous Education, which serves in an advisory capacity to the Ministry and has formulated a set of policy guidelines for indigenous education (Comite, 1994). The revitalization efforts of the *professores indios*, in conjunction with the Comissão Pró-Indio, occur in the context of this political opening toward recognition of the Indians and of their rights to their languages and to education in their languages.[6]

Such a political opening was also the impetus for one of the first *major* indigenous bilingual education initiatives in South America, the Puno Bilingual Education Project , which I and others have described at length elsewhere. In that case, it was the 1975 recognition of Quechua, alongside Spanish, as official languages of Peru, that paved the way for the Puno bilingual education project which served approximately 4% of the school-aged Quechua and Aymara speaking population of the Department of Puno throughout the 1980s, developed the first complete set of bilingual primary education materials in an indigenous language in Latin America, and has served as a model, inspiration, and resource for bilingual education initiatives in Latin America in the 1990s (Hornberger and López in press; López 1997).

One such 1990s initiative is that of Bolivia,where indigenous language speakers make up 63% of the population, and where major language and education policies are being introduced that have significant consequences for indigenous language maintenance and revitalization. The Bolivian National Education Reform of 1994 envisions a comprehensive transformation of the educational system - including the introduction of all 30 of Bolivia's indigenous languages alongside Spanish as subjects and media of instruction in all Bolivian schools. Teaching/learning modules are being developed by native speakers for all the languages: those for Quechua and Aymara draw on the experience of the Puno and other experimental bilingual education projects carried out in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador in the 1970s and 1980s; while those for Guarani draw on the experience gained

[6]The 8 ethnic groups represented at the CPI course are only a few of the 206 indigenous peoples of Brasil (see CEDI/Instituto Socioambiental 1994).

in a successful participatory literacy campaign carried out in 1992-93 (Lopez 1996). Work in the other indigenous languages is at present comprised largely of orthographic and lexical development, carried out through a partnership approach between young, informed speakers of the languages and academic specialists appointed by the indigenous communities to work on their languages; this work had originally been slated to start in the year 2002 with the second phase of the Bolivian Reform, but political pressure from the Amazonian and East Andean indigenous groups advanced it to the first phase. The Bolivian Education Reform, undertaken in conjunction with the Popular Participation Process also launched in 1994, constitutes the institutional cement for the construction of a new Bolivian State in which pluralism is seen as a resource and not a problem (Lopez 1995: 87).

Post-apartheid South Africa's new Constitution (Act No. 200 of 1993) also embraces language as a basic human right and multilingualism as a national resource, diverging from its former language-as-problem orientation (cf. Chick 1996). The Constitution raises nine major African languages to national official status alongside English and Afrikaans;[7] and states that: "every person shall have the right to use the language of his or her choice" (section 31); that "no person shall be unfairly discriminated against, directly or indirectly, on the grounds of language" (section 8); that "each person has the right to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable" (section 32); and that "each person, wherever practicable, shall have the right to insist that the State should communicate with him or her at national level in the official language of his or her choice and at provincial level in any provincial official language" (section 3) (Department of National Education n.d.). The Language Plan Task Group, appointed in December 1995 to advise on the development of a national language plan, is working at the level of subcommittee and national consultation (Department of Arts, Culture... 1996). The Pan South African Language Board, mandated by the Constitution and established in March 1996, is charged with responsibility for promoting multilingualism through such measures as: the development and promotion of equal use of the official languages; the provision of translation services; and the promotion of respect for and development of other languages used by communities in South Africa, e.g. Indian languages and German (Chick 1996:3). Though only in the beginning stages, the impact of this new language policy has already begun to be felt in the schools, which are not only rapidly desegregating due to the end of apartheid, but also confronting the opportunities and challenges of bilingual and multilingual education (PRAESA, 1995).

In the USA, the 1990 and 1992 Native American Languages Act declares that the U.S. government's policy is to "preserve, protect, and promote the

[7]The nine languages are: Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu, all of which already had regional official status somewhere in South Africa.

rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (P.L. 101-477, Section 104[1]). Terri McCarty reports that "though meagerly funded, [this Act] has supported some of the boldest new initiatives in indigenous language revitalization, including language immersion camps and master-apprentice programs in which elderly speakers team with younger tribal members over months and years in natural language learning activities" (McCarty 1996b:13).

There is no question, then, that language policies with a language-as-resource orientation can and do have an impact on efforts aimed at promoting the vitality and revitalization of endangered indigenous languages.

Of course, this is not to say that protecting indigenous languages is simply a matter of declaring a language policy to that effect. There is ample evidence that that is not so. For one thing, there may be other, conflicting policies that inhibit the effect of the language-as-resource policy. After all, in the United States, we not only have the Native American Languages Act, but also the proposed Language of Government Act, which, if enacted, would designate English as the official — and sole permissible — language of U.S. government business, with only a few exceptions. We will return to this below.

Additional obstacles to protecting indigenous languages simply by declaring policy are: the well known gap that is nearly always present to one degree or another between policy and implementation, and the fact that policies may change or get over-ruled. From today's vantage point looking back, it is clear that both these things happened in the case of the 1975 Quechua Officialization in Peru; not only was there a lack of government follow-through in terms of budgetary and institutional support for Quechua officialization, but also, in the years subsequent to 1975, Peruvian policy retreated somewhat from the resource orientation to a language-as-right orientation, providing attention to Quechua language maintenance, but not necessarily to its development and extension (Hornberger 1988a, 1988b; Hornberger and López to appear; López 1997).

Finally, there is what I will call, for lack of a better term, the force of history, which may overwhelm any policy attempt. It is worth noting in this regard that while I formulated my dissertation research, in the early 1980s, around the question of Quechua language *maintenance* (Hornberger 1988a) my student, Kendall King formulated her dissertation research, in the early 1990s, around the question of Quichua language *revitalization* (King 1997). To be sure, part of this change can be attributed to different histories in Peru and Ecuador, to different language maintenance and loss trajectories in different Quechua speaking communities throughout the Andes (cf. Grenoble and Whaley 1996 on regional specific and community specific circumstances), and even perhaps to different theoretical or experiential outlooks in different researchers, but at least part of the change is also attributable, I think, to a growing threat to even such a large indigenous language as Quechua, with its estimated 10 million or more speakers.

We will return to this point later.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION, IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES, AND VERSATILITY

As we make a transition to the topic of immigrant languages and language education, and before we move from the southern to the northern hemisphere, let me begin, as before, with a short vignette from my own recent experience, this time in Durban, South Africa, last June.

As I noted above, South Africa's new Constitution elevates nine African languages to national official status alongside English and Afrikaans, while also providing for the promotion of respect for and development of other languages used by communities in South Africa. Among those "other languages" are the languages of India. Approximately 40% of the population of Durban is of Indian and Pakistani origin, said to be one of the largest Indian populations outside of India, and constituting a presence dating from 1860 when the first indentured laborers from India arrived to work on the sugar plantations. Under apartheid, Indians formerly had their own separate educational system with English as medium of instruction; I visited one formerly 100% Indian secondary school, which now has an approximately 25% African student body, though still a 100% Indian teaching staff.

Among those attending a talk I gave at the University of Natal were several faculty from the Department of Indian Languages at the University of Durban-Westville, who introduced themselves to me and told me something about their work. In particular, Dr. Varijakshi Prabhakaran was anxious for me to know that, despite the widespread perception that Indians in South Africa all speak English and that the Indian languages have all but disappeared, there are in fact significant numbers of speakers of the Indian languages, as well as significant language maintenance and language revitalization efforts ongoing. In her view, the Indian languages are oppressed minority languages in South Africa, the more so now that there are nine official African languages along with English and Afrikaans.

Varija's plea, on behalf of the immigrant Indian population, for attention and support for Indian languages in South Africa is echoed around the world by immigrant voices who seek to maintain their languages in the face of seemingly irresistible social, political, and economic pressures to assimilate to the language and culture of their new country. In my experience, this plea is matched in intensity by the complementary plea for opportunity to learn the new country's language as well. In other words, the plea of immigrants is that they ought to be enabled to learn and use the new language, but also to keep and use their own language, the 'old' language, in their new country. [Sort of along the lines of a song from my childhood, that went - "Make new friends but keep the old, one is silver and the other gold."] This twin plea is, in my view, a remarkably consistent one around the world; yet, equally remarkable and consistent around

the world, it seems that the immigrants' new country often seeks to force a choice for one or the other language, or worse still, lets both pleas fall on deaf ears.

Marcelo Suarez-Orozco has recently drawn our attention to similarities in the immigrant experience in the US and Western Europe, similarities which set the context for the assimilatory pressures mentioned above. He notes that, in both cases, the causes of recent increases in immigration, and in particular in undocumented immigration, are primarily three:

1) policies which aim at recruiting foreign workers to feed a voracious appetite for inexpensive labor;

2) a reliance by some sectors of the market on foreign workers to do the impossible jobs nobody wants to do, even with high unemployment among native workers; and

3) stunning global economic and political transforma tions (e.g. NAFTA in the US and political upheaval and the spread of ethnonationalistic conflicts in Eu rope).

He goes on to note that in both Western Europe and the US, similar, and largely unfounded, concerns characterize what he observes as a growing anti-immigrant sentiment, namely:

1) concern that there are just too many new arrivals;

2) the belief that limits on immigration have largely failed to contain the undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers;

3) anxiety about the economic consequences of immigration;

4) the explosive charge that immigrants contribute disproportionately to problems of crime;

5) a general anxiety that new arrivals are transforming the demographic landscape; and

6) a pervasive anxiety that new immigrants are not easily assimilating.

(Suarez-Orozco 1996).

As we know all too well, it is this kind of xenophobia, however ill-founded, that leads to policies such as California's Proposition 187 adopted in 1994 and the proposed Language in Government Act, currently before the U.S. Congress.[8] This Act, which would require that English be used by "all employees and officials of the Government of the United States while performing official business," has been characterized by Senator Paul Simon as a "not very subtle symbolic attack" on Hispanic and Asian Americans, a reading even further reinforced by proposed amendments which would exempt "the use of [both] indigenous and foreign languages in education" from this English-only mandate (James Crawford, Update on English-only legislation - IV, 9 March 1996).

Richard Ruiz tells us that "movements toward the officialization of English in the United States are consistent with the tendency in large multinational states to promote a transethnified public culture" (Ruiz 1996:1). He differentiates transethnification from assimilation, in that in transethnification, it is not necessary to lose one's ethnicity to be useful to the state, ... nor is it necessary ... that one's attachment to the state have any sentimental aspect (in Kelman's (1971) sense of historicity and authenticity)" (1996:1). In the U.S., Ruiz suggests, languages other than English are "perfectly acceptable ... [but only] as long as they are mediated through individuals and not communities; [however] if they are community languages, they should be confined to the private sector and not make demands for public subsidy; [and] if there is to be public subsidy, their use should be for the common public good, and not signal competing allegiances" (1996:3).

In a language ideology built, as Ruiz suggests U.S. and other multinational states' language ideologies are, on the promotion of transethnification, instrumentalism, and nationism, it is difficult to find room for state-supported programs of language education that would promote the full use and development of two or more languages in school and lead to the kind of bilingual / biliterate / bicultural versatility encapsulated in the immigrants' twin plea to learn the new and keep the old. Yet, my own work and my reading of others' work on language and education policy and practice for immigrant (and other) language minorities in the U.S. and elsewhere has led me to formulate a couple of principles which propose just that:

The first principle, drawn as an implication from my continua model of biliteracy, is that the more the contexts of their learning allow bilingual / biliterate learners to draw on all points of the continua of biliteracy, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development. That is, the

[8] Approved as H.R. 123 on 1 August 1996 and introduced in the Senate as S. 356 in the 104th Congress (1995-96), this bill was re-introduced in the 105th Congress as H.R. 123 on 7 January 1997 and as S. 323 on 13 February, but so far "appears to lack influential backers" (James Crawford, Update on English-only legislation - IX, 4 March 1997). The text of the version passed by the House in 1996 can be found on the World Wide Web at: http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/4?c104:./temp/~c104t60x::

contexts of their learning must allow learners to draw on oral-to-literate, monolingual-to-bilingual, and micro-to-macro contexts; productive and receptive, oral and written, and L1 and L2 skills; with both simultaneous and successive exposures, and attention to both similar and dissimilar aspects of language structure, and convergent and divergent aspects of language scripts (Hornberger 1989, 1990, 1992).

In a multi-year ethnographic dissertation study of women and girls in several Cambodian refugee families in Philadelphia, Ellen Skilton Sylvester notes that "the challenges many [Cambodian] women and girls face in learning to read and write English are often seen in relation to short schooling histories in Cambodia, differences between Khmer and English, and little exposure to reading and writing in their first language" (1997:vii). Although her study addresses these issues, she places the onus of responsibility on "educational policies and practices [that] often treat the Cambodian students' native language as a problem rather than a resource, and provide few opportunities for these students to practice and learn the literacy skills needed to become "literate insiders" in the United States" (1997:vii).

Using the continua model of biliteracy as a "tool for uncovering the aspects of literacy that influence participation in educational programs by Cambodian women and girls," Skilton Sylvester suggests that in addition to the continua of biliterate contexts, development, and media that my model proposes, the continua of *content*, the meaning or "inside" of literacy (as compared to media, the structure, or the "outside" of literacy), are an additional key dimension, particularly so for an understanding of how it is that these Cambodian women and girls remain literate "outsiders", rather than "insiders" (1997:187). By content, Skilton Sylvester refers to "what is taught through and about reading and writing as well as what is read and written" (1997:242), and she defines it in terms of majority-minority, literary-vernacular, and parts-whole continua. For these Cambodian women and girls, being "outsiders" has to do with whether and to what degree literacy contents they are introduced to in their classes include serious attention to Asian voices and experience (i.e. a range of minority as well as majority contents), to the kinds of literacies they practice in their daily lives - e.g. the reading of romances; or the writing of letters, stories, and plays (i.e. a range of vernacular as well as literary contents), and to reading and constructing whole texts as well as performing rote memorization, drills, and fill-in-the-blank exercises (i.e. a range of parts to whole language contents).

Skilton Sylvester applies micro-level understandings of the meanings and uses of literacy among these Cambodian women and girls to the analysis and critique of macro-level language and education policies for language minorities in schools and adult education classes. She shows how current practices often leave Cambodian women and girls "in-between," pulled in two directions by the home and the classroom; and points to a different possible kind of "in-between" where schools and adult education

programs would be "'in-between" sites that value and respond to learners' daily lives *and* teach what they need to know to become insiders in the United States" (1997:vii).

What she is talking about is exactly the kind of support for bilingual/biliterate/bicultural versatility that pleas like Varija's call for. In my own work on mother tongue literacy in the Cambodian community of Philadelphia, I found telling evidence that an interest in preserving Cambodian language and culture does not preclude the learning of English or acculturation to American ways; quite the contrary. It was precisely the individuals who practice Cambodian literacy and who have a clear sense of specific functions for Khmer literacy - as an aid in learning English, a skill for employment, a vehicle to preserve Cambodian language and culture in a new land, or an essential for going back to Cambodia to help people there - who also work hard to learn English, who express a general appreciation for all languages, who seek to negotiate a way of life that harmonizes their old and new cultures, and who reach out to improve intercultural communication between Cambodians and Americans (1996b: 83). It is this kind of versatility which is essential for immigrants and their languages not only to survive but to thrive and contribute to their new land.

The second principle that my work and my reading of others' works has led me to formulate with regard to educational policy and practice for immigrant (and other) language minority learners is that the specific characteristics of the optimal contexts for their learning can only be defined in each specific circumstance or case; there is no one "program", or even three programs, or ten, or twenty, that will necessarily provide the best learning context for all biliterate learners.

To be sure, there is accumulating consensus, in both research and practice, that enrichment models of bilingual education, i.e. those which "aim toward not only maintenance but development and extension of the minority languages, [toward] cultural pluralism, and [toward]an integrated national society based on autonomy of cultural groups" (Hornberger 1991:222) offer much potential for both majority and minority learners' academic success. Canadian French immersion programs are one example of such a model, two-way bilingual education is another; but there are most certainly other program types which could embody an enrichment model of bilingual education, whose "primary identifying characteristic is that the program structure incorporate a recognition that the minority language is not only a right of its speakers but a potential resource for majority language speakers" (Hornberger 1991: 226).

Yet, the specifics of how a program actually incorporates that recognition will vary greatly depending on each context; and we need many more in-depth studies and descriptions of such programs before we can begin to understand "what works" and doesn't work and why. One two-way bilingual education program for which we have a detailed description is the Oyster School in Washington D.C. , one of the oldest two-way programs in

the U.S. In the early 1990s, at the time of Rebecca Freeman's ethnographic / discourse analytic study, the Oyster School's population was 58% Hispanic, 26% White, 12% Black, and 4% Asian, representing over 25 countries (Freeman 1996:558); and the school's language plan, then as now, provided for instruction in Spanish and English for both majority and minority language speaking children. Freeman began by looking at patterns of language use in this bilingual school and ended by discovering that curriculum organization, pedagogy, and social relations were shaped by a larger underlying identity plan. Her original intention was to study the two-way bilingual education language plan by triangulating classroom observations, the school's bilingual education policy, and conversations with principals, teachers, and students of the school.

However, she began to find that there was not in fact strictly equal bilingualism in the school - that codeswitching to English in Spanish class was common, but not the reverse; that there was district-wide testing in English, but not Spanish; that the English-dominant students were not as competently bilingual in Spanish as the Spanish-dominant were in English. At that point, she began a more open-ended search for 'what was going on.' What she found was that the success of the program was due not so much to the school's language plan, but rather to their underlying identity plan, i.e. the school community's "attempt to provide the students not only with the ability to speak a second language, but in the case of the minority students, techniques for asserting their right to speak and to be heard in a society that, at least in the Oyster School construction, regularly refuses minority populations such rights" (Freeman 1993:107).

"The right to speak and be heard." This brings us to the third and final section of my talk, which I will again introduce with a short vignette from my own recent experience.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS, INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES, AND STABILITY

In conjunction with the Sociolinguistics Symposium 11 held in Cardiff last September, I made my first visit to the site of some of my own ethnic roots, in North Wales on the Isle of Anglesey. While there, I visited Caernarvon, famous not only as the site of the castle where the Prince of Wales is crowned (an English, not a Welsh, event), but also as the place in the world where the most Welsh is spoken. It is also the headquarters for CEFN, a Welsh non-party citizens' movement which seeks equality of citizenship and equality for Welsh people as a nation and for the Welsh language. Eleri Carrog, founder, told me about how the organization grew out of a 1985 nation-wide petition movement to combat the misuse of the

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*The misuse of the Race Relations Act was in the Jones and Doyle case, where the Race Relations Board had successfully supported English language applicants against Gwynedd County Council, who wished to appoint a bilingual assistant in a Welsh old people's home.

Race Relations Act[9] and support the right of employers to recruit bilingual speakers to give service in a bilingual community. That petition drive was the original impetus for a movement which has grown far beyond the founder's expectations, with CEFN becoming an unofficial legal aid system for those wishing to fight authority to establish language rights. CEFN and others engaged in the campaign for Welsh language rights have met with some success with the 1993 passage of the Welsh Language Act.

It is not only Welsh speakers who have become activists for the right to use their own language. Language rights, or linguistic human rights, have taken on increasing urgency worldwide in the light of the twin threat posed by the loss of vast proportions of the world's linguistic resources - the endangered languages; and by the growth of world languages such as English.

Within the last decade [and going on fifty years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948], two UNESCO-supported conferences [one held in Recife in October 1987 and another in Paris in April 1989] have called for a Universal Declaration of Language Rights which would "ensure the right to use the mother tongue in official situations, and to learn well both the mother tongue and the official language (or one of them) of the country of residence" (Phillipson 1992:96). Since 1985, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations of the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights has been developing a draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights, which includes among some 28 rights of indigenous peoples:

> "The right to maintain and use their own languages, including for administrative, judicial, and other relevant purposes; [and] The right to all forms of education, including in particular the right of children to have access to education in their own languages, and to establish, structure, conduct, and control their own educational systems and institutions" (Alfredsson 1989:258).

In sum, these declarations call for the right to education in one's own language AND the right to a significant degree of control over the educational process as it affects one's children. Stephen May argues for both these rights for indigenous minorities and offers the case of Maori education in Aotearoa / New Zealand as an example where such rights have led to developments in which "a long and debilitating history of colonization and marginalization for Maori is being contested, and Maori language and culture [is being] reasserted" (May 1996:154). In a situation where Maori language was "all but ... banned from the precincts of the schools" from the turn of the century on (1996:157), and was in rapid decline especially

after World War II on (1996:158), May notes that "two recent educational developments have begun to halt the process of language loss for Maori: first, the establishment of bilingual schools in the late 1970s; and second, and more significantly, the emergence of alternative Maori-medium (immersion) schools - initiated and administered by Maori - during the course of the 1980s" (1996:160). Alternative, Maori-controlled, Maori-medium education began at the pre-school level in 1982 with the Te Kohanga Reo, or 'Language Nests', and has grown to a movement including not only primary schooling in the Kura Kaupapa Maori (literally 'Maori philosophy schools'), but also secondary and tertiary level institutions. Furthermore, since 1990, both Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori have been incorporated into the state educational system as recognized (and state-funded) alternative education options, (a situation which, as May notes, is not without some contradictions with respect to the notion of relative autonomy which has been so fundamental to the movement, cf. 1996:164). As of 1991, 1% of Maori primary school students were enrolled in Kura Kaupapa Maori; while as of 1993, 49.2% of Maori children enrolled in pre-school were at a kohanga reo.

Terri McCarty, Jerry Lipka, Galena Sells Dick and their co-contributors to a 1994 theme issue of the *Journal of American Indian Education* tell of similar success stories in American Indian / Alaska Native education, where local knowledge has successfully become a genuine foundation for indigenous schooling, as a result of decade-long, collaborative efforts by native speakers and non-native educators. In a concluding essay to that volume, I suggested that among the enabling conditions for such sustained and lasting improvements in indigenous schooling, as gleaned from their experience as well as the case of the Puno bilingual education project which I studied, are: a vital native language valued by the community, versatile bilingual / bicultural / biliterate personnel who take the lead in effecting change in their schools, and long-term stability of the change site - stability of site personnel, governance, and funding (Hornberger 1994b: 62)

CONCLUSION: LANGUAGE-AS-RESOURCE POLICY / LANGUAGE POLICY AS A RESOURCE

The language-as-resource orientation in language planning, as first discussed by Richard Ruiz (1984), is fundamental to the vision of language policy, language education, and language rights I have presented here; but in concluding, I want to emphasize that it is not an uncomplicated, conflict-free vision of language-as-resource that I have in mind.

I suggested that language policy with a language-as-resource orientation can and does have an impact on efforts aimed at promoting the vitality and revitalization of endangered indigenous languages, and it is in this sense that I believe we can speak of language policy itself as a resource. At the same time, however, I noted that the force of history may overwhelm any policy attempt, even in the case of such a large indigenous language as

Quechua.

My notion of the force of history appears to be similar to what Aodán Mac Póilin, writing about the Irish Language Movement in Northern Ireland, has recently called linguistic momentum, that is, "the forces which ensure that a language is used in society and passed on from one generation to the next." He notes that the same linguistic momentum "which allowed Irish to survive against enormous pressures in pockets of the country is now working in the other direction, in favor of English, and is, in spite of the best efforts of the revivalists, effectively inhibiting the development of Irish as a community language outside the Gaeltacht" (1996:2, 5).

After all, it is not the number of speakers of a language, but their positioning in society, which determines their patterns of language use. Mac Póilin talks about this in terms of the relative linguistic significance of groups of speakers, which he says is related less to the number of speakers than to the degree to which the language is integrated into the daily life of its users, their social coherence, and - most importantly if the language is to survive - the community's ability to successfully regenerate itself as a speech community" (4).

The whole notion of language minority has more to do with power than with numbers, anyway.[10] However, if it is true that our language and literacy practices position us in social and power hierarchies, it is also true that they may be sites of negotiation and transformation of those hierarchies. In a recent essay on research on bilingualism among linguistic minorities, Marilyn Martin-Jones notes that the conflict research tradition seeks to explain how and why languages come to be functionally differentiated, in terms of a social history of inequality, while the micro-interactionist research tradition sees "individuals within a bilingual community ... as actively contributing to the definition and redefinition of the symbolic value of the languages within the community repertoire in the context of daily conversational interactions" (Martin-Jones 1992).

An example of the kind of negotiative and transformative action individuals within a bilingual community can take are the bottom up revitalization efforts I mentioned earlier. Of fundamental importance here is that these revitalization efforts are not about bringing the language back, but rather about bringing it forward. As Kendall King and I note for the Quechua case, "when we consider that reversing language shift entails altering not only the traditional language corpus but also how it is traditionally used, both at the micro level in terms of inter-personal discourse patterns, and at the macro level of societal distribution, the crucial importance of the involvement of speakers of the language becomes even more appar-

[10]May puts it this way: "Although the term 'minorities' tends to draw attention to numerical size, its more important reference is to groups with few rights and privileges (see Byram, 1986; Tollefson, 1991)" (May 1996:165); and Nelde et al note that "the concept of minority by reference to language groups does not refer to empirical measures, but rather, to issues of power" (Nelde et al., 1996: 1).

ent. In a very real sense, revitalization initiatives ... are not so much about bringing a language back; but rather, bringing it forward; who better or more qualified to guide that process than the speakers of the language, who must and will be the ones taking it into the future?" (Hornberger and King 1996:440). May also emphasizes this point when he clarifies that the movement for alternative, Maori-medium education is "neither separatist nor a simple retrenchment in the past" (164); rather, he says, it revolves around a question of control, of having Maori-medium education available as a legitimate schooling choice and he reminds us that "nothing in the assertion of indigenous rights - or minority rights more generally - precludes the possibilities of cultural change and adaptation" (164).

Furthermore, it is not only language minority community members, but also language education professionals who can be active contributors to negotiative, transformative processes of language revitalization, language maintenance, or indeed language shift; there is increasing recognition in our field of the role of language education professionals as language policy makers - whether they be classroom practitioners, program developers, materials and textbook writers, administrators, consultants, or academics (cf. Hornberger and Ricento 1996). Teresa McCarty has gone so far as to argue in a recent paper that, "while schools cannot in themselves 'save' threatened indigenous languages, they and their personnel must be prominent in efforts to maintain and revitalize those languages" (1996b:1). In this regard, and again from a language-as-resource perspective, I suggested earlier that key considerations for the education of indigenous, immigrant, and other language minorities are bilingual / bicultural / biliterate versatility, the continua of biliteracy, and enrichment model bilingual education.

Here, too, though, I do not mean to suggest that the implementation of a language-as-resource perspective offers a conflict-free solution. In our finite world, the recognition and incorporation of multiple languages within any one educational system is bound to bring the language rights and needs of one group into conflict with another at some point in time, not to mention the long-standing conflict between language and content priorities in the education of language minorities. A recent dissertation by Angela Creese looks at the limits and successes of a UK language policy that aims to provide for the language rights and needs of bilingual children in multicultural schools through mainstreaming the children while providing them with in-class language support, an approach with which we are also familiar in the United States. Using an ethnographic interpretive methodology, Creese observed and audio-recorded Turkish bilingual teachers and Anglo English as a second language teachers and the subject teachers they were working with in their classrooms. She looked at the relationships the teachers formed, the roles they played in class, and the language they used in playing these out, and found that, within the constraints imposed by the educational aims and reality of current policy, the language rights of the

children rarely became a priority alongside the content-based aims of secondary education. Although the teachers showed great versatility in forming a range of collaborative relationships (which Creese names support, partnership, and withdrawal), if they attempted to change the hierarchy of educational aims, they were often challenged by the children they were helping; while teachers who worked "outside this hierarchy of aims [were] not only in danger of working themselves out onto the periphery in terms of their own status in the school, but [could] also be seen by the children they [were] targeting as providing a deficit form of education" (1997:2). Creese concludes that "there is much more that can be done to celebrate rather than tolerate [the] diversity in British schools" (1997:322). I mention this case here not to single out UK policy for criticism, but to illustrate a point that holds true for many language policies around the world, namely that a serious commitment to provision of the rights for children to be educated in their own language requires a systemic and systematic effort, which cannot necessarily be handled by an add-on program or policy.

Language rights, then, from a language-as-resource perspective, are not a question of automatic concession-on-demand, but rather of control and choice among potential alternatives, in balanced consideration of other possibilities as well. Elsewhere I have argued that it is crucial that language minorities be empowered to make choices about which languages and which literacies to promote for which purposes; and that in making those choices, the guiding principles must be to balance the counterpoised dimensions of language rights for the mutual protection of all. Among the balances that must be struck across competing language rights are those between tolerance-oriented and promotion-oriented rights (Kloss 1977), between individual and communal freedoms (Skutnabb-Kangas 1994), between freedom to use one's language and freedom from being discriminated against for doing so (Macias 1979), and between claims-to-something and claims-against-someone else (Ruiz 1984) (Hornberger in press). These are difficult ethical choices, but they must be made; I am arguing here that those best qualified to make them are the language minority speakers themselves.

At a time when phrases like "endangered languages" and "linguicism" are invoked to describe the plight of the world's vanishing linguistic resources in their encounter with the phenomenal growth of world languages such as English, I hope that I have convinced you that there is also consistent and compelling evidence that language policy and language education serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality, versatility and stability of these languages, and ultimately of the rights of their speakers to participate in the global community on, and in, their own terms.

I end with one last personal vignette - this one from my home state, California, and indeed, my home county, Marin, even though I was not present at the event. Leanne Hinton, in her 1994 book *Flutes of Fire*, reports on the 1992 Tribal Scholars Language Conference, a gathering of Native

Californian language activists at Walker Creek Ranch in Marin County, one of the outcomes of which was the master-apprentice language program I mentioned earlier. She tells about a conversation she had there with L. Frank Manriquez, a Native Californian artist of Tongva and Ajachmem origins, in which Hinton commented on how inspiring the conference had been even in the face of what appeared to be such a hopeless situation for so many native Californian languages. To which Manriquez responded: "Yes. How can it be hopeless when there is so much hope?" (Hinton 1994: 233).

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Talk to Me! The Development of Request Strategies in Non-Native Speakers of English

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The study presented in this paper examines the development of pragmatic competence in second language learners. It focuses on requests produced by adult non-native speakers of English across three different settings and nine levels of English proficiency. Data tokens were coded and reviewed utilizing speech act analysis (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989). The analysis suggests a fan shaped pattern of pragmatic development wherein NNSs continually rely upon direct request strategies until their proficiency and competence begin to gradually "open", whereupon they begin to use more complex request strategies.

Linguists and teachers alike have long been aware of the difference between knowing how to form an utterance in a language and being able to use that statement in an effective and efficient manner. The latter ability may be described as communicative or pragmatic competence. While largely unconscious in native speakers (NS), the development of communicative competence requires a great deal of time, effort, and experience from non-native speakers (NNS). For this, as well as other reasons, many individuals have examined this fundamental aspect of language acquisition (see Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986; Ellis 1992; Ervin-Tripp, Strage, Lampert, & Bell 1987; Kasper & Schmidt 1996; Rintell & Mitchell 1989). Cohen (1996) addressed the question of a specific developmental path related to communicative competence. Potential interference from a person's first language (L1) and culture has likewise been addressed by Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989), Ellis (1992), and Kasper & Schmidt (1996). Billmyer (1990) analyzed the facilitating effect of instruction on learners' emerging communicative competence. Perhaps what remains to be seen is whether an individual can ever truly get inside the culture of their second language in a way which permits the ease and grace of communication exemplified by their native-speaking peers.

The following investigation adds to the limited amount of work on the development of pragmatic competence in second language learners. It ex-

amines the use of requests by learners across a variety of settings and proficiency levels in order to identify potential patterns of development. This work is important for several reasons. According to Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989), even advanced second language learners regularly make pragmatic errors with regard to the level of politeness or illocutionary force of their utterances. In an increasingly international world, second language skills are fast becoming a necessity for many. These skills will be called upon in a variety of situations, each with its own hidden or small 'c' culture rules. Knowledge of these norms is instrumental in working towards painless and successful communicative interactions. By studying the development of such skills, we may be able to better modify second language curricula to enhance such learning.

The Literature

A concept which is inherently linked to any request realization is politeness. According to Brown & Levinson (1978:70-71), requests are face-threatening acts (FTAs). Requests place both speaker and hearer's face at risk, but especially impose on an addressee's negative face, or freedom to act without impediment. As such, they require certain adjustments or politeness moves which preserve the addressee's face. These adjustments will relate to issues of power, rank, and social distance and require a shared knowledge base of acceptable behavior and expectations. Strategies for achieving this outcome include hedging or questioning, showing deference, apologizing, and impersonalizing (Brown & Levinson 1978:150, 183, 192, 195). Such moves can often be realized via conventional indirectness or idiomatic, culture-specific utterances which convey the speaker's intent while minimizing the imposition (Brown & Levinson 1978:75). However, one must have the aforementioned pragmatic knowledge or competence in order to successfully employ such a strategy.

Searle did some of the earliest work on requests when he posited his speech act category of directives. He described these as acts intending to "get the hearer to do something . . . ." (Searle 1976:11). More recent investigation has broadened Searle's linguistic criterion, however, and shown that a speech act's illocutionary force is greatly determined by its context, not its verb. Wolfson (1989) noted that social distance and power relationships between interlocutors greatly influences the form a request takes. Other factors such as shared expectations and socio-cultural knowledge are also likely to determine the outcome of a communicative interaction (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986; Rintell & Mitchell 1989). Ervin-Tripp, et al. (1987) found that children across cultures relied on contextual inference when interpreting adults' requests rather than attending to the literal utterance.

Evidence has been cited which asserts that NNS speakers at or above intermediate proficiency do have access to the same request strategies as NS (Faerch & Kasper 1989; Kasper & Schmidt 1996). Yet their communica-

tive behavior does not seem to demonstrate this knowledge. Instead, certain limited patterns of usage seem to recur in their interactions. There is disagreement over which strategy seems to be used most commonly. Some studies assert that direct statements are most prominent (Ellis 1992) while others claim the conventionally indirect form is (Faerch & Kasper 1989). Proficiency is seen to play a role, however, in the frequency and context of requests (Kasper & Schmidt 1996). Additionally, researchers have identified a NNS tendency towards verbosity (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1986; Faerch & Kasper 1989) and use of more external than internal modifications to requests (Ellis 1992).

Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989) conducted a seminal study on non-native (NNS) speaker pragmatics, known as the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP). Their research utilized discourse-completion tasks to assess pragmatic strategies across cultures and languages. They found that cultural factors interact with situational factors to influence speech act performance. The two primary cross-cultural differences specific to requests identified in their analysis were level of directness and amount and type of modifications made to request forms (Blum-Kulka, et al. 1989:24). They categorized nine common strategies, each related to degree of directness, which occurred across their corpus. Namely, these are mood derivable, explicit performative, hedged performative, locution derivable, want statement, suggestory formula, preparatory, strong hint, and mild hint (Blum-Kulka, et al. 1989:278-280). Descriptions of these strategies, which are used as the basis for the analysis undertaken herein, are presented in the next section.

The Study

The study presented in this paper is an attempt to examine requests as they are produced in different settings by second language learners of English along a continuum of proficiency levels. In light of the existing literature, I will attempt to identify patterns which occur across three specific settings within a particular population of ESL students. It is expected that less proficient students will exhibit less elaborate request strategies regardless of the context, but that situational factors such as role-relationship and contextually-based assumptions will influence the levels of directness observed across levels as well as the persistence of request behavior. An analysis will then be conducted in order to specify potential developmental patterns in second language learners' pragmatic competence in the use of requests.

The data for this study were collected in three different settings[1]. All three were contained within English language programs based at two private universities. Both universities were located within the same neigh-

[1]The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Nancy Bell, Keiko Nonaka, and Lisa Tysen to the data corpus analyzed in this study.

borhood of an East coast inner-city. The breakdown of settings may be illustrated as follows:

University A	University B
Setting 1 - public office	Setting 2 - classroom
Setting 3 - private office	

While there are notable similarities between these settings, each had its own purpose and inherent expectations of interaction.

Setting 1 was a public administrative office where both program staff and students would go to obtain general information, carry out administrative business, and occasionally make appointments or contact others. Therefore, this setting could be viewed as a place of public, school-related transactions facilitated by the office staff at the request of others. The office staff primarily consisted of three middle-aged members, two women and one man, who were native speakers of English. As such, their elevated status and power over students is moderately pronounced. Other part-time staff were also present throughout the week.

Setting 3 is an interesting contrast to this in purpose and locus of control. Setting 3 was the private office of the program advisor at University A. Students would make appointments to meet with the program advisor in order to discuss personal difficulties or conflicts with their schedules. The advisor was a middle-aged woman who is also a NS of English. Her position is notably higher ranking than that of the students. Advisement sessions were conducted in her private office. Such situations required that students be able to explain their circumstances to the advisor and negotiate a resolution with her. Often times this necessitated an elaborate, clearly thought out set of reasons in support of their request.

Setting 2 was an English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom. The focus of the class in question was pronunciation. The teacher was a female graduate student who was in many ways a contemporary of her students. As such, the status and social distance between the teacher and class was minimal. There were 9 students enrolled and the atmosphere was generally casual and familiar. In this sense, the environment might be described as semi-private. That is, although students interacted in the presence of others, these were familiar others. In addition, they had a shared purpose of learning English. Therefore, the inherent risk and pressures of public interaction may have been substantially reduced.

The participants in the study were all adult students of ESL. They represented a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds, length of English study, duration of stay in the United States, educational goals, and age. Their English language skills had been evaluated by their host programs

[1] When specific sub-section ranking was not available, participants were categorized as general.

and, for the purpose of this study, will be classified along a continuum of elementary to advanced, sub-divided into low, middle, high and general.[2] These rankings were used as indicators of proficiency for the purpose of this study. Proficiency levels of participants in Settings 2 and 3 were provided with the data collected by my colleagues. Proficiency levels of students observed in Setting 1 were provided by office staff according to student records. It should be noted that while a range of skill levels was observed in Settings 1 and 3, the participants in Setting 2 were all high-elementary. A total of twenty-nine participants was included in the analysis.[3]

Table 1
Number of participants by setting & level

Level	Elementary				Intermediate				Adv.	Total
Setting	Low	Mid	High	Gen.	Low	Mid	High	Gen.		
1-Public Office Office	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	6	1	15
2-Classroom	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
3-Advisor's Office	1	1	0	0	2	4	2	0		10
TOTAL	2	4	5	1	3	4	3	6	1	29

As many of these students produced more than one request each, the total number of requests analyzed was greater than the number of participants. Fifty-five requests were analyzed in total.

Table 2
Total number of requests by setting & level

Setting	Public Office	Classroom	Advisor's Office	Total
No. of requests	17	9	29	55

Data collection occurred via non-participant and participant naturalistic observation, audio recording, and some video recording. The data from the public office were recorded by hand by the author over a six week period. The interactions were observed in the waiting area of the office approximately three times a week for periods of 60-90 minutes, generally

[3] Students who were observed but did not produce requests were not included in the analysis.

around mid-day. The classroom data were recorded by the class teacher using audio, and occasionally video-tape. She then transcribed the taped material. Data from the advisor's private office were audio-recorded by the advisor and transcribed by two of my colleagues who were not present ough sweeps were made through each data set in an attempt to ensure consistent coding as there was no co-rater to allow for inter-rater reliability. Each request token was coded for speaker characteristics (gender, country of origin, English language skill) and sociolinguistic features (level of directness, alerter, supporting moves, strategy, downgraders, upgraders, perspective, propositional completeness, linguistic completeness,). Several of these categories are based on those used in the CCSARP project as listed below (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989:18, 273-294).

Levels of Directness

Direct

A request was coded as a directive if its meaning was directly determinable from its linguistic content alone.

Conventionally Indirect

An utterance was described as conventionally indirect if its meaning was interpreted through its linguistic content in conjunction with contextual cues.

Non-conventionally Indirect

A request was considered non-conventionally indirect if its illocutionary force was dependent upon contextual inference.

Components of Requests

Alerter

A verbal call for attention.

Head Act

The smallest unit of an utterance which conveys a request.

Supporting Moves

External additions to the request head-act which frame it in a mitigating manner.

Request Strategies

Mood Derivable

The grammatical nature or manner of the utterance communicates the most direct request possible.

Want Statement

The utterance expresses the speaker's desire for something.

Preparatory

The speaker's request includes a prefacing condition along with the actual embedded request.

Hints

Particularly indirect requests which are realized as suggestions.

They may be strong or weak, depending on the presence of an allusion to the topic of the request.

Request Modifiers

Downgraders

Modifications to the request head act internally which reduce its illocutionary force. These may be syntactic or lexical in nature.

Upgraders

Modifications to the request which intensify its illocutionary force.

Additionally, the following three categories have been modified or added for the purpose of this study:

Aspects of Requests

Perspective

Hearer: the utterance is from the addressee's perspective
Speaker: the utterance is from the speaker's perspective
Neutral: the utterance is from neither interlocutor's perspective

Propositional Completeness

A request was considered proportionally complete if the addressee understood its intent without further negotiation of meaning.

Linguistic Completeness

An utterance was considered linguistically complete if it contained the request verb. Tokens frequently lacked prepositions and object pronouns but were considered complete for this analysis if they met the above criterion.

Once the data were coded, it was entered into a spread-sheet and analyzed for patterns by settings and proficiency levels. A qualitative interpretation was then applied to more fully consider aspects of particular situations which may influence such patterns.

Results and Discussion

The most striking result of the analysis was the preponderance of proportionally and linguistically complete directives. This held true across settings and skill levels. A total of 38 directives was recorded from the 55 utterances analyzed (Setting 1=12, Setting 2=5, Setting 3=21). This represents 69% of all the requests observed(Table 3a). While individual students produced multiple request tokens in all settings, the majority of directives took place in the advisor's office. The most probable explanation for this is the specific nature of advising interactions. Eighty-four percent of directives were phrased as want statements from the speaker's perspective (Table 3b).

Those directives which were not want statements were mood derivable, with the exception of two possible preparatory statements and another propositionally incomplete sentence which relied on inference for comprehension.

Table 3a
Number of directives across settings & levels

Level	Elementary				Intermediate				Adv.	Total
Setting	Low	Mid	High	Gen.	Low	Mid	High	Gen.		
1-Public Office Office	0	4	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	12/17
2-Classroom	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5/9
3-Advisor's Office	3	5	0	0	2	10	1	0	0	21/29

Table 3b
Number of want statement directives across settings & levels

Level	Elementary				Intermediate				Adv.	Total
Setting	Low	Mid	High	Gen.	Low	Mid	High	Gen.		
1-Public Office Office	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	9/12
2-Classroom	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/5
3-Advisor's Office	3	4	0	0	2	10	1	0	0	21/21

Two of these instances occurred in Setting 1. The first was said by a Korean male at the mid-intermediate level. He approached a member of the office staff and inquired:

S:"I, register next session, can I?"

Although the "want" is omitted from this statement, it is possible that this is the intended meaning based on the syntactic structure of the main clause. In this instance, the "can I" functions as a tag question. However, an alternative explanation is that the student is attempting to form a preparatory interrogative but is unable to complete the necessary syntactic inversion. The result is intriguing as it may be interpreted somewhere between a directive and a conventionally indirect request. These categories represent two different degrees of politeness and therefore may realistically influence the outcome of the request. The staff member here treated this request

as unmarked, or normative, and the interaction proceeded smoothly.

The second example illustrates the prominence of inference and context on comprehension of a message. Here, a beginning level male Korean makes eye contact with an office staff member and the following ensues:

S is the student, E is the employee

S: "Penn schedule."
E: "Penn schedule?"
S: "1997."
E: "For the University or English Language Program?"
S:"English Language Program."
E: "Okay. I'll get it for you."

While further negotiation is necessary for clarity, it is obvious from this instance that the importance of contextual inference cannot be underrated. The public office stocks administrative materials, including schedules, and this interaction took place around registration time. Therefore, this request is correctly presumed to fall under the hot topic of "desperately seeking registration information". From this assumption, the staff member is able to move forward with more specific queries in order to ascertain which exact schedule the student wants. The degree of politeness attached to the utterance must also be inferred. Cues such as gesture, tone, and expression support such inference.

A similar interaction was recorded in Setting 2. Here the request is in a minimal form which linguistically resembles a mood derivable command. Yet intonational patterns and non-verbal cues reduce the directness of this utterance to that of a preparatory interrogative.

S is the student, T is the teacher

S: "Check this?"(Said while presenting the paper with a pleading expression.)
T:"Sure!"

The request is accepted as appropriate behavior despite its lack of explicit politeness markers. This may be due to the classroom atmosphere and the teacher's attitude. She maintains an informal relationship with her students and, in many ways, is their peer. Therefore, no strong distinction between rank, social status, distance or age exists here which would necessitate increased deference or politeness (Wolfson 1989:93).

The above interactions illustrate the influence of context on requests as noted by several researchers (Ervin-Tripp 1976; Ervin-Tripp, et al. 1987; Rintell & Mitchell 1989). Ervin-Tripp, et al. (1987) found that as requests are typically inferred from context, even incomplete or isolated utterances are commonly understood. This effect is illustrated by my data. Part of this inference relates to role-relationships (Ervin-Tripp 1976), defined by Fishman (1971:243) as accepted mutual rights and obligations between individuals. Such roles are also situation specific. Part of a teacher's role in

the US is to check students' work, just as it is part of the office staff's role to provide information. Therefore, it is the shared expectations of context, coupled with verbal and non-verbal cues which enable both of these requests to be successfully realized.

On further examination, the classroom setting results do present a notable difference from the other two in frequency of directive strategy use. While the same strategies are used, the mood derivable is equally prominent to the want statement in this setting. Closer inspection reveals a change from the usual classroom atmosphere which may have encouraged these instances of directness. They were recorded at the last session during which a party was being held. It seems likely that the party reduced the usual level of contextual formality, thus permitting such direct orders between students as well as from students to the teacher. In addition, one of these utterances was offered as an invitation to others to help themselves to food. Although linguistically a command, *"Eat!"* in this context may be interpreted with less force because of its accompanying para-linguistic gestures and its function of pleasing rather than imposing on others.

Far fewer students used conventionally indirect request forms. The most occurred in the advisor's office setting, followed by the public office, with the least in the classroom. All of these requests utilized interrogatives in a preparatory strategy, regardless of setting or level. The perspective taken was more equally distributed, although the speaker perspective was still more common. In addition, multiple request tokens can again be attributed to individual students. However, this is not as pronounced as in the case of directives.

Table 4
Number of conventionally indirect requests across settings & levels

Level	Elementary				Intermediate				Adv.	Total
Setting	Low	Mid	High	Gen.	Low	Mid	High	Gen.		
1-Public Office Office		1							2	3/17
2-Classroom			2							2/9
3-Advisor's Office					1	3	1			5/29

The degree of imposition related to each of the settings may mirror the frequency of this request strategy. The topic matter of requests in the advisor's office is far more specific than in the public office. It requires of the advisor detailed and time-consuming actions on the direct behalf of the student as a result of unusual or extreme circumstances. In addition,

the advisor has more power and rank relative to the office staff. The simple fact that an appointment is required before one can see her implicitly communicates this standing. In comparison, the public office is a readily available resource for all students. In most cases, the information and materials provided are standard. An explanation regarding the classroom setting is not as transparent. Although a teacher may often experience ample imposition while meeting the requests of her students, this is perhaps not perceived by them. In this particular class, the aforementioned role-relationship and proficiency of the students are also likely to be influential factors.

Non-conventionally indirect requests were extremely rare in the data. There were only seven instances out of a possible fifty-five. Three of these were produced by one student and on the whole, non-conventionally indirect requests took the neutral perspective with greater frequency than the other two levels of directness. Six of the seven were realized as strong hints, with the seventh a weak hint.

Table 5
Number of non-conventionally indirect requests across settings & levels

Level	Elementary				Intermediate				Adv.	Total
Setting	Low	Mid	High	Gen.	Low	Mid	High	Gen.		
1-Public Office Office	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	9/12
2-Classroom	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/5
3-Advisor's Office	3	4	0	0	2	10	1	0	0	21/21

This result is similar to Ervin-Tripp (1976) which found hints to be more prominent within families or communal groups. The greatest proportion of hints reported here are in the classroom which is a form of communal group. Ervin-Tripp (1976) also asserts that hints occur when their intent is clear because of contextual factors, such as roles and obligations, and the speaker anticipates a significant imposition on the listener which they do not wish to explicitly express. This is representative of interactions with the advisor.

As anticipated, supporting moves were the most distinguishing aspect of the analysis. Interestingly though, this distinction appears to vary with setting and not level. Furthermore, supporting moves were the only category of analysis wherein conversationally permissible multiple moves were actually taken. These all occurred in the advisor's office setting. In

one instance, five moves were recorded for one request. The results for supporting moves are summarized below.

Table 6
Summary of supporting moves across settings 7 levels

Setting	Level	Individual Requests	Supporting Moves per Requests
1	General Intermediate	1	1
2	High Elementary	1	1
3	Low Elementary	1	1
"	Mid-Elementary	2	1
"	"	1	2
"	"	1	3
"	"	1	5
"	High-Elementary	0	0
"	Low-Intermediate	1	2
		1	4
"	Mid-Intermediate	5	1
		1	4
"	High-Intermediate	1	1
		1	3

The supporting moves recorded were all grounders, or reasons, which mitigated the students' requests. Unsurprisingly, they generally occurred in the advisor's office where such explication was necessary in order for a request to be considered. Along a similar vein, the other two settings require less explanation by nature.

However, two instances were observed in the public office wherein pragmatic failure did occur. According to Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1986:168), pragmatic failure occurs ". . . whenever a speaker fails to live up to his interlocutor's expectations . . ." of socio-culturally appropriate behavior. The first involved a mid-elementary level Korean female who had come into the office to register for the TOEFL exam.

S is the student, E is the employee

S: Excuse me, I wanna test.

E: TOEFL test?

S: Yes.

(After completing the necessary paperwork and walking away from the service counter, the student suddenly turns around and quickly runs back to the counter where the staff member is still standing.)

S: Let me have my . . . ID! (Laughing)

E: Oh! Sorry! (Returns ID and laughs)

The student's initial request reflects a lack of linguistic skill but an awareness of want statements as a request strategy. However, her sudden concern about not having her ID may have further limited her ability to produce it in the second half of this interaction. Instead, she uses an inappropriate command. Luckily, her joking manner seems to imply that she does not wish to express such a forceful directive. Under different circumstances such an imperative could result in serious consequences for this student. As is, her exclamation caught the staff member off guard. However, it appears as though a desire to save face from his error, an awareness of the student's linguistic skills, and the general informality of the setting allow this pragmatic failure to go unacknowledged.

The second instance is an enlightening contrast to this example. The student was a male Korean who appeared to have high intermediate English skills. He had come to the office to inquire about a previous situation with which a staff member had assisted him. The staff member asked the student if he had followed through with the necessary measures explained to him during the student's prior visit. After ascertaining that he had not, the staff member dialed a phone number and handed the receiver to the waiting student. As the student conversed, the staff member sat down and became involved in a conversation with another colleague. The student then interrupted this conversation.

S is the student, E is the employee

S: David, uh thank you very much. (Said while holding out phone receiver)

E: She's finished? (Said with a look of startled surprise and annoyance)

S:(Shakes head in an affirmative manner)

E:(Takes phone receiver from student)

Here the student's attempt at a mild hint combined with an expression of gratitude fails miserably. His intrusion is poorly timed and seems to be perceived as rude. As described in Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989), despite a high level of linguistic skill, the pragmatic knowledge with which it must be applied appears to be lacking.

A particularly fascinating display of linguistic and communicative competence was also recorded in the public office. A female Japanese student at the mid-elementary level wanted to check the program class schedule but had difficulty expressing herself. After three failed attempts, she makes a surprising switch in strategy which is quite unexpected in light of the earlier utterances.

S is the student, E is the employee

S: I need to something. (Pause)
S: I want to . . . (Pause).
(Staff member waiting.)
S: I want to time . . .
E: Time?
S: Could you show me the time?
E: The class time? Do you have your PennCard?

This change in strategy represents a move to a more complex, indirect approach to the interaction. In addition, it is one of only two such conventionally indirect requests produced by elementary level participants in the entire corpus. It is anomalous for a more striking reason, however. The student is unable to complete the linguistically simpler head-act, yet manages to clearly and accurately express a much more intricate syntactic pattern seconds later without any external prompting. The only explanation for this phenomenon which seems feasible is the use of a memorized, formulaic expression. Such use, according to earlier research, is a means of acquiring pragmatic knowledge (Kasper & Schmidt 1996). Indeed, Ellis (1992) found his young elementary level subjects used formulaic utterances to express formality. This conclusion is further supported by the remainder of the interaction, which was negotiated by the staff member as he pointed to individual classes on a printed list while asking the student "yes or no". The student's responses were limited to head-nodding and a simple yes or no.

Although there was little variety in strategies used for achieving requests, there was a clear absence of downgraders in the utterances of lower level students, as anticipated. This anticipation is based upon the linguistic complexity of such moves. Similar to non-conventionally indirect requests, syntactic and lexical downgraders appeared only eight times in the corpus. In addition, they occurred exclusively of one another. Intermediate students produced these utterances. One was in the public office setting with the remainder taking place in the advisor's office. None appeared

in the classroom setting which is not unexpected as those students were all at the high-elementary level. There were no instances of upgraders in the corpus.

Table 7
Number of syntactic and lexical downgraders across settings

Level	Intermediate				
Setting	Low	Mid	High	Gen.	Total
1-Public Office				1 syn.	1 syn.
2-Advisor's Office	1 syn	4 syn 1 lex	1 lex		5 syn 2 lex

When analyzed for perspective, a very strong trend appeared. The speaker perspective was taken in 42 out of 55 tokens, or 76% of the time. All proficiency levels are represented within this pattern. However, the distribution across settings was not uniform. In both office settings, over 70% of requests fell into this category (Setting 1=71%, Setting 3=86%). Approximately another 10% of tokens from each of these settings came from a neutral perspective. In contrast, requests recorded in the classroom setting were split almost equally between speaker (56%) and hearer (44%) perspectives. There is, however, a recognizable difference between the use of hearer perspective in the office settings. While 18% of the utterances from the public office held the hearer perspective, only 3% in the advisor's office did the same.

Again, contextual demands may explain these variations. Students are likely to explain their circumstances and desires in terms of their own perspective when in the position of justifying these to the advisor. The preponderance of speaker perspective in general fits with the finding of abundant want statements in the corpus.

The remaining categories of alerters and propositional and linguistic completeness were not particularly revealing. Alerters were confined to Settings 1 and 2 and limited in frequency. Only 15% of recorded requests utilized these markers. This is not surprising, however, given the contexts of these interactions. Alerters would not be expected in the advisor's office as the students concerned have previously arranged appointments and typically respond to the advisor's opening move inquiring about their problem. Students used these devices to attract the attention of the teacher in the classroom setting when she was working with other students or when they interrupted her to express interest in something she said. Similarly, if office staff were otherwise occupied when students needed help, they would

use an alerter. *"Excuse me"* was the most common phrase used, although "hi" was used occasionally and a staff member was once called by name.

No less than 75% of utterances in any setting were propositionally or linguistically complete. Only four requests were linguistically and not propositionally complete. Two of these occurred in the public office and the other two in the advisor's office. The same exact pattern occurred for four requests which were incomplete for both categories. Lastly, all requests which were propositionally complete were also linguistically complete.

Summary & Conclusions

The findings of this study support the original hypothesis linking complexity of request strategies to level of second language proficiency in adult second language learners of English. It found a preponderance of directives (69%) over conventionally indirect (18%) and non-conventionally indirect (13%) requests in the corpus. This reflects earlier findings by Ellis (1992). In addition, preferences discovered here for want statements, preparatory interrogatives, and hints have similarly been identified in the literature (Kasper & Schmidt 1996).

The largest differences between the groups studied appeared to be linked to setting. This seems to demonstrate students' sensitivity to context and role-relationships. While there was evidence of more polite strategies among from contextual prompts and demands rather than from efforts at deference. The most striking difference between settings is reflected in the distribution of less direct requests. The classroom findings are more equally divided between these categories than in either office. This may be due to a greater variety of interactions in this setting.

Table 8
Summary of request tokens within setting & across levels

	Level of Directness		
Setting	Directives	Conventionally Indirect	Non-Conventionally Indirect
1-Public Office	12/17=71%	3/17=18%	2/17=12%
2-Classroom	5/9=56%	2/9=22%	2/9=22%
3-Advisor's Office	21/29=72%	5/9=17%	3/29=10%

Total percentages are approximately 100 due to rounding.

A further finding of interest is related to proficiency level and therefore potentially to development. Comparable frequencies for directives and non-conventionally indirect requests exist between the elementary and intermediate levels. However, the percentage of *conventionally indirect* requests made by intermediate students (24%) was twice that of elementary students (12%). This finding supports the notion of greater pragmatic development in more advanced learners, illustrated by their use of more linguistically and pragmatically complex strategies. It equally emphasizes a more *diversified* use of strategies by these individuals. In comparing intermediate with elementary level learners, a fan pattern of pragmatic development can be imagined whereby less proficient learners rely upon direct schemes consistently and then gradually open up their repertoires to make use of those which are less direct.

Table 9
Summary of request tokens within level & across settings

Level	Level of Directness		
	Directives	Conventionally Indirect	Non-Conventionally Indirect
Elementary	19/25=76%	3/25=12%	3/25=12%
Intermediate	18/29=62%	7/29=24%	4/29=14%

As there as only one advanced participant, this level is not included in the summary.

It appears as though students who are sufficiently linguistically proficient make appropriate efforts to follow politeness norms. It is not possible to ascertain from this study whether this pragmatic knowledge is acquired through experience or instruction. It seems probable, however, that many variables are involved. As such, a language curriculum which offers authentic materials and ample opportunities to participate in a wide variety of social situations will surely support students' experiences outside the classroom and foster greater learning and confidence.

Several drawbacks to the present study should be addressed by future work. These include a limited time frame and sample, restricted data collection methods, and lack of baseline data for comparison. While the observations made herein illustrate a degree of developing pragmatic knowledge, additional research on such patterns by age, gender, length of utterance, and culture will surely shed further light on this particularly important area.

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English Article Deletion in Korean EFL Learners' Compositions

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This study is a quantitative analysis of the frequency of English article deletion by Korean learners of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The absence of an article system in Korean induces usage errors where learners ungrammatically either omit or add an article. The study especially focuses on the linguistic and social factors which influence deletion of both the definite and indefinite article in the written compositions of Korean EFL learners. In general, the study suggests that there is a correlation of first language transfer and second language target effects in relation to social factors.

Introduction

There has been an increasing number of studies in the past few years regarding second language acquisition and sociolinguistics (Preston 1989:2). The acquisition of language itself implies the change and variation of language skills over time. This variation is systematic and reflects the learner's language development up to a specific stage. While some aspects of the second language system may be readily acquired, other aspects present difficulties to the learner. This holds especially true if the learner's native language system entirely lacks an aspect of the target language they are learning.

Systematic variation in second language learners has been incorporated in the theory of 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1969). The term interlanguage suggests that there is an intermediate language system which is deviant from the target language but is influenced by the native language (Selinker 1992:217). The deviations and variations are rule governed and can be accounted for in a systematic way. However, Young (1991:16) points out that the notion of 'system' in interlanguage is defined as a hypothetical relationship between interlanguage forms and the contexts in which they occur which may be explicitly stated and reduced to rules. In addition, he suggests that much variation may be due to surface level constraints imposed by the linguistic environment in which the forms occur.

Interlanguage is substantially influenced by the native language

(Selinker 1992:172). This influence may have positive or negative effects on the learner's language. If the native language of the learner is similar to the target language, learning may be enhanced or even impeded. However if the two languages do not have equivalent systems this may impair target language acquisition. For instance, in advanced learners, traces of interlanguage may become fossilized and lead to persistent errors (Selinker 1992:225). Structures considered difficult and marked in the target language will also be continuously problematic to the non-native learner. This will cause the near-native speaker to stay at a plateau stage without much further progress.

The Present Study

The present study focuses on the deletion rate of the English definite article 'the' and the indefinite article 'a(n)' in adult native speakers of Korean. The acquisition of an article system is difficult and is often imperfect. One reason may be related to the fact that articles have no clear semantic function. The article is usually classified as an adjective and falls in the category of determiners because they always signal that a noun follows (Fowler & Aaron 1992:247). In addition, the absence of an article in many cases does not often provoke severe ungrammaticality or miscommunication. It is speculated that even native speakers of languages which possess an article system tend to delete articles when they do not regard them as absolutely necessary. In the case of the native speaker this would have to be considered a performance error.

In Korea, the dominant form of foreign language teaching is the grammar-translation method. Thus, students are trained in the passive skills of reading and writing with an emphasis on traditional grammar. However, this way of teaching greatly impairs the acquisition of the communicative aspects of the language. This may account for why Koreans excel on written examinations and do poorly on the other hand on speaking/listening evaluations. Therefore, written examples were elicited to test the contemplated efforts of the students and were thought to better reflect the subjects' level of performance than speech samples.

In Korea, the English article system is usually learned in the traditional descriptive grammar framework which offers the following generalizations (Fowler & Aaron 1992: 748-788):

1. 'The' is a definite article, it precedes a noun when the thing named is already known to the reader.

2. 'A' and 'an' are indefinite articles, they precede a noun when the thing named is not already known to the reader.

3. Use 'a(n)' with a singular count noun and do not use them with a plural noun.

4. Do not use 'the' with a plural noun or a mass noun when the noun refers generally to all representatives of what it names. Use 'the' when re-

ferring to one or more specific representatives of what the noun names.

The above generalizations may seem arbitrary to the learner whose native language lacks an article system. For instance, the definite article can be expressed by modifiers like demonstrative pronouns and the indefinite article by numeric modifiers.

The fact that the data is in written form may suggest that the register is formal and less resilient to variation. In this sense, the written form is considered static compared to the spoken form which is dynamic. However, this study suggests that errors in article usage are a persistent fossilized phenomena in second language learners and thus transcend the form of expression. The study is also the first to sociolinguistically quantify both social and linguistic factors concerned particularly with English article deletion.

The Data

The subjects in the present study were 49 freshmen students of the Department of English Language and Literature, College of Liberal Arts, at 'K' University in Seoul, Korea. All subjects have had 6 years of English education through secondary schooling. The backgrounds of the students are considered to be relatively uniform in that they all share the same native language and similar academic achievements.

In a demographic breakdown of the 49 subjects, 24 were male and 25 were female while 27 came from rural backgrounds and 22 came from urban backgrounds.

Table 1
Demographic analysis of subjects

Social Factors	Rural	Urban	Total
Male	17	7	24
Female	9	16	25
Total	26	23	49

A spontaneous written composition on the topic of 'My Freshman Lab Class' was elicited during a 50-minute time frame[1]. The students had no previous knowledge of the topic and were not permitted to access a dictionary. A familiar topic was used in order to eliminate such factors as lack of general knowledge and insufficient English skills regarding expression. There was no restriction on the length of the composition. However, the

[1] The data was collected on November 9, 1992.

length ranged from 1/2 to 2 pages.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

1. The rate of English article deletion will be considerably higher than the rate of article retention.

This is a generalization which was formed under the rationalization that the Korean language lacks an article system such as the one found in English and that it is considered difficult for second language learners to acquire this system (Santos 1987, Ahn 1992, Park 1992, Lee 1993). As there is no translation equivalent of the article in Korean, subjects may be influenced by their native language and delete rather than retain this form. This form would be considered marked to them in light of the absence of such a construction in their native language.

2. Males will delete the English article more than females.

It is a general belief that females are more sensitive to second language forms than males (Preston 1989:64). This in turn, leads to the speculation that women acquire second language more swiftly and more accurately than men. Therefore, the hypothesis that the males in this study would delete the English article more than females was proposed.

The factor group males vs. females was posited to show the effects of this social variable.

3. Subjects with rural backgrounds will delete the English article more than those with urban backgrounds.

This proposal was taken into consideration concerning a widespread belief that the schools in the urban areas of Korea offer a higher standard of education than the rural areas. This holds true in relation to the differences in the socio-economic status of people living in urban areas vs. rural areas found in Korea. In addition, a past history of high schools in urban areas having a higher required score on the high school entrance examination than rural schools also reflects this point. This is due to the basic intent urban schools have of preparing students for higher-level education. Lastly, there is a general tendency of well-qualified teachers to prefer urban schools to rural ones.

Thus, a second sociolinguistic variable of region which indicates a rural vs. urban background was posited.

4. The deletion rate of the English article will be higher if the articles precede a 'modifier + noun,' rather than directly preceding a noun.

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Korean language lacks an overt article system and instead incorporates this information in the use of prenominal modifiers. In Korean, the function of the English definite article 'the' is reflected in modifiers such as 'i, ceo, keu'.[2] On the other hand,

[2] The Yale Romanization system was used in transcribing Korean.

the English definite article which distinguishes singular and plural entities is expressed directly by cardinal numbers. Therefore, if a modifier is already present in the construction the learner may be affected by native language interference and consequently will not use an article. This can be seen in languages such as Korean which do not have an explicit article system.

The absence of an equivalent article system in Korean was chosen as one of the linguistic constraints concerning English article usage. The various factors selected to capture the constraints were whether the article preceded a modifier + noun, an adverb[3], or noun. In addition, in the case of the indefinite article 'a(n)' a distinction was made between count and mass nouns.

The study

The article errors in the compositions of the 40 subjects were analyzed and classified into those which occurred in the definite article 'the' and the indefinite article 'a(n).' A total of 638 tokens was collected. The social variables looked at in this study were sex and region. The linguistic variables were chosen on the basis of the frequency of their appearance in the data corpus. Hence, the environments where the article was omitted[4] and where it was retained were noted.

A quantitative analysis was run on the tokens by using the MacVarb Variable Rule Program[5] This statistical program, which runs only on Macintosh computers, is a multivariate analysis tool. The program analyzes the significance of independent variables in relation to a dependent variable. Each independent variable is then given a weight which indicates whether that particular variable is significant or not in relation to the dependent variable. If the weight is closer to '1' this indicates that the variable is strongly significant, if the weight is closer to '0' this indicates that the factor is not significant.

Here, the dependent variable was the deletion rate of the English articles. The independent variables were the social variables and linguistic variables. An initial run and the results from the run are presented in the next section.

Results and discussion of quantitative analysis

In the first run on the data, the following factor groups which represent

[3] The sequence of 'article + adverb' is distinguished from 'article + modifier + noun' in which the modifier implies an adjective. An example of an 'article + adverb' is found in 'a little' and 'the most.'

[4] The number of addition of article errors was insignificant. These errors were regarded as being instances of hyper-correction and overgeneralization of article usage. This phenomena did not prove detrimental in this study.

[5] This program was created by Gregory Guy in 1989.

variables were used in the MacVarb analysis.

Table 2
Factor groups in analysis

	Factors	
Factor Group 1	male	female
Factor Group 2	rural	urban
Factor Group 3	the + noun	a(n) + count noun
	the + adjective +, noun	a(n) + mass noun
	the + adverb	a(n) + adjective + count noun
		a)n) + adjective + mass noun

Factor Groups 1 and 2 reflected the social variables and Factor Group 3 showed the linguistic constraints on the English article.

Hypothesis 1 which stated that the rate of English article deletion would be higher than retention proved false. Of the 638 tokens collected only 129 were instances of deletion. This consisted of a mere 20% rate of deletion. The subjects appeared to have a high level of proficiency concerning article usage. The emphasis on the written form of language in the English education they have received may have an effect on this matter. Thus, continuous exposure to grammar and written form may have sufficiently provided the setting for article acquisition. In addition, the subjects have had

Table 3
Probability of deletion rates

	Factor	MacVarb weight
Factor Group 1	male	0.55
	female	0.45
Factor Group 3	the + noun	0.34
	the + adjective + noun	0.50
	the + adverb	0.60
	a(n) + count noun	0.41
	a(n) + mass noun	0.58
	a(n) + adjective + count noun	0.52
	a(n) + adjective + mass noun	0.70
	a(n) + adverb	0.34

the chance to contemplate and correct mistakes because the samples were in written form. Therefore, they may have been consciously aware of the environments where the article must be retained.

Hypothesis 2 which stated that males would delete the English article more than females appears to have been borne out. This social variable of male/female proved significant in this run. Males showed a higher rate of deletion of the article at 0.55 than did their female counterparts at 0.45. However, Hypothesis 3 which stated that region-wise learners with a rural educated background would delete more those with an urban appeared to be insignificant. This factor group was thrown out during the analysis which indicates that it does not influence the rate of English article deletion in any way. Thus, the results suggest that there is no significant difference concerning the rural/urban distinction of the learner. This may be the result of the subjects having similar academic backgrounds in that they were mostly at similar levels of academic achievement in order to enter the particular university they were attending.

On the other hand, all the linguistic variables in Factor Group 3 showed significant results. A slight tendency was apparent in that the subjects seemed to delete the article more when it preceded an adjective or an adverb than when it preceded a noun. The most significant effect was found in the category where the following noun was a mass noun than when it was a count noun. These results support Hypothesis 4 which stated that the deletion rate would be higher when the English articles precede a 'modifier+noun' than just a 'noun.'

Results and discussion of modified quantitative analysis

An additional quantitative analysis was run in the form of a reanalysis of the factor groups used in the initial run. A modified run was conducted in order to determine the validity of the factor groupings in the initial run. Factor Group 3 (linguistic variables) from the initial analysis was modified so that the linguistic constraints were more finely distinguished. The first adjustment was in distinguishing between the definite article 'the' and the indefinite article 'a(n).' The second adjustment was made to determine in

Table 4
Modified factor groups in reanalysis

	Factor	
Factor Group 1	male	female
Factor Group 2	rural	urban
Factor Group 3	definite article 'the'	indefinite article 'a(n)'
	article + noun	
	article + adjective + noun	
	article + adverb	
	a(n) + count noun	a(n) + mass noun

what contexts the article (definite and indefinite combined) was deleted. Lastly, in the case of the indefinite article 'a(n),' a comparison of whether the following noun was a count noun or a mass noun was reanalyzed.

The reanalysis provided additional support for Hypothesis 2 in that

Table 5
Probability of deletion in reanalysis

	Factor	MacVarb weight
Factor Group 1	male	0.56
	female	0.44
Factor Group 2	rural	0.52
	urban	0.48
Factor Group 3	definite article 'the'	0.46
	indefinite article 'a(n)'	0.54
Factor Group 4	article + noun	0.40
	article + adjective + noun	0.56
	article + adverb	0.54
Factor Group 5	article + count noun	0.39
	article + mass noun	0.61

males deleted the English article more than females. Hypothesis 3 which predicted that subjects from rural backgrounds would delete the article more than those from urban backgrounds was again falsified.

The new adjustments in the factor groups showed varied results. The reanalysis suggests that there was no significant difference in distinguishing between the definite article 'the' and the indefinite article 'a(n).' Thus, the learners are prone to delete the article regardless of its particular grammatical usage. This also implies that the learners view articles in a general manner and group them as one category.

In regard to the linguistic constraints on the article, the reanalysis suggests that deletion is higher when the article precedes an adjective or an adverb than directly before a noun. This reinforces Hypothesis 4 which predicted that the article will be deleted more if it precedes a modifier than when a noun directly follows. In addition, in the case of the indefinite article 'a(n)' whether the noun following it is a count noun or a mass noun seems to influence the deletion rate. The subjects tend to delete the indefinite article more when it is followed by a mass noun. This triggering of deletion may be due to the notion of the general use of the indefinite article as an indicator of singular concrete nouns. In this sense, it may be difficult

for the Korean second language learner of English to relate the indefinite article to abstract entities.

Special treatment must be given to the factor of 'article + adverb.' The classification of this factor is questionable in regard to its grammatical category. This sequence seems to appear when the following word is a superlative form of an adjective or an adverb; for example; the most. These instances may be seen to be idiomatic in nature and hence render the grammatical category of the superlative form as a noun. However, the superlative form is regarded as an adverb in the present study.

Summary and conclusion

The data examined in the present study shows some of the various factors which may affect the deletion of the definite and indefinite article in foreign language learners of English. The result of the overall deletion being low suggests that the subjects have acquired the usage of the article system to a large degree and make errors when the use of the article is arbitrary and does not serve a grammatical function.

Deletion of the article appeared to be systematic and sensitive to both social and linguistic variables. Males deleted the article more than females but there was no apparent difference regarding the regional background of the subjects. Furthermore, there was no substantial difference in the deletion rates of the definite and indefinite article as was previously predicted.

The significant difference was in the linguistic environment which the article appeared in. There was a tendency towards higher deletion when the article preceded an adjective or an adverb than when it directly preceded a noun. This can perhaps be explained by native language influence where the role of the article is played by modifiers in the subjects' first language of Korean. Thus, since the place where an article should appear is already occupied with a modifier the subjects might have overlooked the fact that an article might be necessary in this context. In the case of the indefinite article, the deletion rate was higher when the article preceded a mass noun than when it preceded a count noun. This can be explained by the general definition of the indefinite article to denote the concept of singularity which mainly concerns count nouns.

It is concluded from the present study that the phenomena of article deletion in foreign language learners of English could in some ways be influenced by the learners' native language. In this particular case where the native language of the Korean learners lacks an equivalent article system of that found in their target language of English.

Further avenues of research may be to look at the deletion rate of English articles in speech and compare them with the rate found in written examples. This may reveal a holistic view of the language learner's performance. Although the social variables showed little effect, the linguistic constraints on English article deletion may provide some implications on why

learning of this aspect is difficult for learners. In short, this study tentatively suggests that English article deletion by Korean EFL learners may be influenced by both social and linguistic variables.

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Effects of Instructional Strategies on Second Language Acquisition Processes

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Research has demonstrated that second language learners benefit considerably from form-focused instruction within the context of a communicative program. Thus, it is suggested that second language teachers should provide guided, form-based instruction in a meaningful context. This paper presents a discussion of instructional strategies based on the following dimensions concerning code-focused L2 instruction: (a) experiential-analytic, (b) implicit-explicit, and (C) intralingual-crosslingual. The mode by which the acquisition of *in-that-clause* constructions can be assisted by classroom instruction, as well as which instructional strategies would be most effective in promoting the learning of this feature, are explored in reference to the principles described in the Harley's (1993) experimental study. The explicit and analytic instructional strategies seem to be effective for teaching syntactically and semantically peculiar *in-that-clause* constructions.

Much of the research on the effect of instruction on second language acquisition has revealed that some grammatical features are better learned in the context of formal instruction. For instance, a study by Pica (1983; 1985) provides evidence that formal instruction affects production accuracy. She found that the learners who had access to formal instruction performed some grammatical features more accurately than the naturalistic learners did. However, naturalistic learners outperformed the instructed learners in other grammatical features. Moreover, for another linguistic feature, no difference was observed between the groups. In explaining this phenomenon, Pica suggests instruction only aids the acquisition of features that manifest transparent form-function relationship and which are formally easy to acquire (1985: 221).

Furthermore, it is suggested that "full" acquisition is possible when students learn structures that are within the range of their linguistic and metalinguistic capacities, and this acquisition can result in learners using the structures in a wide range of linguistic contexts, particularly if the type of formal instruction matches learners' preferred approach to learning (Doughty 1991). In addition, Long (1983: 374) posits that the rate of learn-

ing and higher levels of proficiency appear to be facilitated by instruction. According to Rutherford andSharwood-Smith, on the other hand, what instruction does is not so much enable learners to fully acquire what is taught, but prepare them for its eventual acquisition (Rutherford & Sharwood-Smith 1985: 275). In other words, as Gass (1991: 137) puts it, instruction "triggers the initial stages in what ultimately results in grammar restructuring." Similarly, Ellis describes formal instruction as taking the form of "conscious raising," however, it is directed at explicit rather than implicit knowledge (1994: 843). He also suggests that the effectiveness of an implicit or explicit instruction might depend on a number of variables, such as the type of linguistic feature being taught and the characteristics of the individual learner.

Though Krashen (1982) contends that formal instruction can contribute to the learning of explicit knowledge, he does not believe that it can result in development of implicit knowledge. Krashen further proposes that it is the implicit knowledge that is needed for communication, and that the explicit knowledge cannot be converted into implicit knowledge. Moreover, a study by Pienemann (1987) indicates a possible negative effect of premature instruction: he found that learners avoided using certain linguistic features that they had been taught in an attempt to avoid making an error. Pienemann posits that the avoidance was the result of being forced to produce the structure that was outside the range of their linguistic capacity at the time. Finally, with respect to the durability of instruction, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that learners retain at least some of the grammatical structures they have learned through form-focused classroom instruction. Classrooms differ in terms of the principles which guide teachers in their language teaching methods and techniques. To this end, Harley (1993) has proposed several principles concerning code-focused L2 instruction, and has discussed instructional strategies based on the following dimensions: (a) experiential-analytic, (b) implicit-explicit, and (C) intralingual-crosslingual. This paper will review Harley's experimental study of instructional strategies and second language acquisition in relation to syntactically and semantically peculiar *in-that-clause* constructions.

The Experiential-Analytic Dimension

An experiential teaching strategy, which employs substantive or motivated topics or themes, invites the learner to focus on the message rather than any specific aspect of the form, and to use the language for a purpose. Through the experiential strategy students are involved in language use in getting meaning across. This teaching strategy is an essential feature of the communicative approach—language is learned in the context of real communication.

When teachers employ an experiential strategy, the focus of attention is not the second language itself but the messages conveyed by it. Experien-

tial activities are arranged so as to engage the learner in some purposeful tasks, such as projects, games, or problem solving which involve authentic communication. What distinguishes the experiential strategy from one in the analytic strategy is that it constitutes a reaction to the message, its content and meaning rather than a reaction to the code.

An analytic strategy, in contrast, is based on techniques of study and practice. The language learner pays attention to formal or functional features of the language. While the experiential strategy is characterized by focusing on a message which is presented in an authentic context, the analytic strategy lacks strong communicative intent because the focus is on aspects of the L2, for example, phonology, grammar functions, discourse, and sociolinguistics. Stern (1992: 310) suggests that a focus on code is a valuable and indeed necessary part of language teaching. In addition, according to Omaggio (1986: 91), in order that students learn how to use the language forms they have learned in authentic communication situations, the forms should be presented and practiced in communicative contexts.

In Harley's (1993) study, the analytic strategy was dominant and the experiential one was in a secondary role. However, the outcome of her previous experimental study of French immersion students has revealed that the combination of the two strategies was helpful in speeding up the development of grammatical competence (1989: 357). Due to the complexity of the rule system and limitations of studying a language by either analytic or experiential methods alone, Stern suggests that they should complement one another (1992: 311). Moreover, teachers should take into consideration the students' age, maturity, and educational background in deciding the use of either or both strategies.

The Implicit-Explicit Dimension

The term *implicit* and *explicit* are not to be equated with the terms *analytic* and *experiential* (Ellis 1994: 661). The term *formal instruction* can be equated with analytic instruction, and such instruction can be either implicit or explicit. Formal instruction, that takes the form of implicit treatment, requires learners to induce rules from examples given to them, whereas in explicit instruction learners are given a rule which they then practice using. Advocates of an implicit teaching strategy assume that languages are much too complex to be fully described, and even if the entire rule system could be described, it would be impossible to keep all the rules in mind and to rely on a consciously formulated system for effective learning. Therefore, they prefer intuitive rather than intellectual modes of learning. In this approach, learners are less concerned with the details of understanding and more with listening comprehension directed to the overall content (Stern 1993: 343).

The explicit teaching strategy, on the other hand, focuses on the characteristic features of the language, the language function, and makes an ef-

fort to acquire a conscious and conceptual knowledge of it. In other words, a cognitive process leads to an explicit knowledge of the language. Both implicit and explicit teaching and learning strategies have a function to perform in any type of language classroom, and are necessary complements to one another. An important consideration is to achieve balance between the two strategies and the extent to which the two teaching strategies will be emphasized and under what circumstance depends on the objectives of the course, the teacher's intentions, and assessment of the learners' needs (Stern 1993: 344).

The Intralingual-Crosslingual Dimension

According to Stern (1993), *intralingual* techniques may be analytic or experiential: they may be used for the teaching of linguistic features, such as phonology, grammar, or lexis, or for teaching substantive content. The intralingual strategy is implemented entirely through the L2, and encourages students to think in the second language. All intralingual techniques are intended to provide opportunities for proficiency development via listening and reading as well as speaking and writing in the L2.

While the absence of translation is a characteristic of the intralingual strategy, sentence translation exercises are a principal technique of the *crosslingual* strategy. Therefore, crosslingual techniques use L1 as points of reference, and the rationale behind the crosslingual strategy is that the new language is learned on the basis of a previously acquired language. Hence, this technique makes use of the L1 systems to help learners build on the presence and strength of them as a basis for L2 learning. According to some researchers, this has positive results wherever the L1 and L2 are similar, however, it acts as negative transfer or interference where there are differences (Lado 1957; Stockwell, Bowen, & Martin 1965). Again, the two strategies relate directly to the language learning objectives. Perhaps a mixture of intralingual and crosslingual techniques employed by teachers and their students is most effective for different conditions of language learning. *In-that-clause* constructions might be one of those linguistic properties that is difficult to acquire by L2 learners without receiving form-focused classroom instruction.

The Syntax of *In-That-Clause* Constructions

Constructions such as *"Penn is different from Penn State in that it is a private university; whereas, Penn State is a state university"* are peculiar with regard to their syntactic and semantic properties (Yang 1993: 35). Such constructions are referred to as *in-that-clause* constructions, and are composed of two clauses—a main clause and an *in-that-clause*. Syntactically, *in-that-clause* is exceptional in that the preposition *in* selects sentential complements rather than noun phrase complements as, in general, prepositions in English select noun phrase complements—that is, nouns or ger-

unds, and not sentential complements. Learners might be perplexed when considering that the word *in* might not be a preposition; however, through an analytic teaching strategy, an instructor can explain that *in-that-clauses* may be replaced by *in*-gerundive clauses, where *in* is a genuine preposition. Consider the following examples:

1 (a) All of us are students *in that* we are learning new things all the time.
(Source: Herrmann, 1975, On 'In that,' *Berkeley Linguistic Society* 1, p. 192)
(b) All of us are students *in learning* new things all the time.

2 (a) He is sick *in that* he is unable to cope with reality.
(Source: *Ibid.*, p. 189)
(b) He is sick *in being* unable to cope with reality.

3 (a) Paul differs from Paula *in that* he lacks concentration.
(b) Paul differs from Paula *in lacking* concentration.

The (a) sentences in 1-3 may be replaced, with no semantic change, by the corresponding (b) sentences. That is, the *in-that-clause* may be replaced by the *in*-gerundive clause. Yang (1993: 37) posits that this further supports the fact that the word *in* is a genuine preposition.

Furthermore, Yang (1993: 37) proposes the *head noun deletion hypothesis*: some sort of head noun may be inserted between *in* and *that*, though the head noun is usually deleted on the surface. The possible head nouns are: *sense, respect, fact, regard, property, point*, and the like. Compare the (a) and (b) sentences below:

4 (a) Jessica is similar to Dan *in that* she has black hair.
(b) Jessica is similar to Dan *in the* {*sense, respect, fact, regard*} *that* she has black hair.

In-that in 4(a) may be replaced by *in the* {*sense, respect, fact, regard*} *that* in 4(b). The above head nouns may also be deleted without incurring any semantic change to the passages. The same context may allow more than one substitute and different contexts allow different substitutes. This suggests that one should read the context with great care. There is no clear-cut pattern as to which head nouns fit in the *in-that-clause*, however, the most preferred head noun in the literature is *sense*, which forms *in the sense that*-clause (Yang 1993: 41). Furthermore, in an attempt to broaden the range of substitutable expressions for the *in-that* part of the *in-that-clause* construction, and to determine to what extent the grammatical expressions, *in the sense* and *because/since* can be interpreted are examined in reference to diagram 1, which is intended to show that the case of head nouns is more suggestive with regard to the semantic strength of the *in-that-clause*, whereas the case of reason conjunctors is more conclusive. The degree of what is conclusive is according to different conjunctors. For example, *because* occupies what is most conclusive, and *in as much as* occupies what is least

conclusive, beyond which lies the area of what is suggestive (Yang 1993: 45).

Diagram 1
Range of substitutable expressions for *in-that*

(Yang, 1993:45)

The Semantics of *In-That-Clause* Construction

Semantically, the main clause has a certain range of assertions, and the *in-that*-clause has certain semantic restrictions on its function and use (Yang 1993: 35). The types of assertions which are allowed in the main clause are limited with respect to certain properties about the subject/topic. For example, if a sentence provides mere information stimulation, the sentence is not naturally connected with *in-that-clause*:

5 (a) * Henry met Don *in that* they shook hands.
(b)*Grace does not like sushi *in that* she does not touch sushi when she is invited to a Japanese home.

In 5(a), the proposition that Henry met Don, and in 5(b) the proposition that Grace does not like sushi provide mere information stimulation. Therefore, these main clauses do not fit the *in-that-clause*. Concerning the *in-that-clause*, Herrmann (1975) has found that *in-that-clauses* limit the domain over which an assertion is held to be true and remove the speaker from the responsibility for possible interpretations other than the one explicitly mentioned, and thus stretch or limit the meaning of an expression. Consider the following examples:

6 (a) Sam is shy *in that* he is unable to tell Erica that he likes her.
7 (a) Christine is a good tennis player *in that* she wins every match.

The *in-that-clause* in each of these sentences specifies how the speaker believes the main assertion to be true. The speaker in 6(a) has only asserted that as far as his inability to tell Erica that he likes her is concerned, Sam is shy; otherwise, he may be bold. Similarly, the speaker of 7(a) has only asserted that as far as her ability to win every match is concerned, Christine is a good tennis player; otherwise, she may be a poor tennis player. For example:

6(b)Sam is shy *in that* he is unable to tell Erica that he likes her, but otherwise he is bold.
7 (b) Christine is a good tennis player *in that* she wins every match, but otherwise her style is terrible.

While the sentences above only assert the truth of a statement with respect

to a specifically mentioned domain, the sentence 8 below is unacceptable since the main assertion is so obviously true no matter how we look at it.

8 * Salmon are fish *in that* they swim so well.

Therefore, as Herrmann (1975) points out, the use of the *in-that-clause* rests in part on the ability of the main assertion to be true in some ways and false in others. He also suggests that the *in-that-clause* does not allow redundant association with the main assertion. For example:

9 * Dr. Jo is a professor in that she teaches at a university.
10 * Those men are thieves in that they are robbers.
(Herrmann 1975: 192)

Again, these sentences are not acceptable because teaching at a university in the *in-that-clause* redundantly repeats the semantic content of the main assertion; and being robbers does not stretch the meaning of thief from its literal one, nor limits the domain over which "those men are thieves" is true. In other words, the sentences above are unacceptable due to the redundant overlapping of the semantic content between the main clause and the *in-that-clause* (Yang 1993: 54). In sum, it should be noted that the semantic property of the main clause is naturally compatible with the specification function of the *in-that-clause*. A total harmony between the two parts has to be achieved; otherwise, the whole construction turns out to be odd.

Analytic L2 Teaching

As Lightbown and Spada (1993: 106) suggest, the challenge is to determine which features of language will need explicit focus in order to be acquired even if learners have adequate exposure to the language. *In-that-clause* constructions are features of the L2 code that may need explicit instruction and which could benefit from analytic support in the context of a communicative, content-based language classroom. An analysis of this particular feature can be guided by the following principles advocated by Harley (1993).

The first is the *compensatory salience principle*. This principle can be interpreted as suggesting that analytic strategy is needed in teaching *in-that-clause* constructions since this feature is not obvious to the learner and is also infrequent and lacks perceptual salience in the L2 input (Harley 1993: 251). Due to its syntactic and semantic peculiarity, this is one of the linguistic properties that is difficult to acquire by L2 learners without receiving analytic and explicit instruction in it.

This is further extended by the *barrier-breaking principle*, which posits that the misanalysis of *in-that-clause* constructions can create confusion in interpretation, and this could impede the learner from acquiring a major subsystem of the L2 code. Thus, teachers can employ analytic techniques to teach *in-that-clause* constructions and help learners break into the sys-

tem and identify the differences of the target language feature from their L1.

Another important guideline for teachers to follow is the *integration principle*. This principle answers the question of when to focus analytically on certain constructions. According to the integration principle, analytic, code-focused teaching of a grammar is appropriate at all stages, as long as it is within the range of the students' linguistic and metalinguistic capacities; and it is relevant to the goals of the learners. *In-that-clause* constructions are useful in natural communication and an analytical instruction of this feature in school-based L2 programs may also raise grammatical awareness among older immersion students.

Finally, the *learning task principle* states that in addition to the integration principle, the teaching strategy should be determined by the "nature of the language learning task" (Harley 1993: 255). In order to implement analytic strategies of in-that-sentence constructions in a communicative ESL classroom, the teacher could give explicit instruction and then use the constructions in the "natural" talk on topics of the students' interests, which are within their linguistic capacity; and also provide the opportunities for meaningful productive use of *in-that-clause* constructions in the classroom.

Conclusion

By understanding how form-based instruction can be most effectively incorporated into a communicative framework, teachers will be better able to judge the merits (and demerits) of different instructional strategies. The analytic strategy has an important part to play in second language teaching. Cautious use of this strategy could result in successful teaching of second language with recognition of its limitations and possible shortcomings. Moreover, analytic strategy is found to be more effective when it is complemented by experiential procedures, such as those found in experiential classrooms, in which meaning and fluency is emphasized over accuracy and error avoidance. No researcher or teacher can firmly assert that only one of the strategies is beneficial under all circumstances. Therefore, a combination of these experiential and analytic strategies seems to be a valid approach to language learning. The attempt to encourage meaning making and fluency should be matched by an equal attempt to develop accuracy.

This paper has reviewed Harley's experimental study of instructional strategies and second language acquisition in relation to syntactically and semantically peculiar *in-that-clause* constructions. The explicit and analytic instructional strategies seem to be effective for teaching this grammatical feature. Teachers should, however, bear in mind that there is evidence to suggest that this kind of form-focused instruction is better learned in the context of communicative activities (Ellis 1994: 659). Therefore, it is suggested that teachers not separate formal instruction from communica-

tive contexts, which are essential in second language learning. Instead, it is advised that teachers promote both communication and accuracy. As Ellis (1994: 659) posits, "Formal instruction is best seen as facilitating natural language development rather than offering an alternative mode of learning." In sum, teachers should be open to the specific merits and demerits of the strategies, and implement them in the classroom in accordance with the research findings and their professional judgment on the benefit to be derived.

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